

The Qazvin Plain Revisited: A Reappraisal of the Chronology of northwestern Central Plateau, Iran, in the 6th to the 4th Millennium BC

Hassan FAZELI

Institute of Archaeology,
University of Tehran.
Tehran,
IRAN
Email: hfazelin@ut.ac.ir

Edna H. WONG

Department of Archaeology,
University of Sydney,
New South Wales 2006,
AUSTRALIA
Email: ewon6855@mail.usyd.edu.au

Daniel T. POTTS

Department of Archaeology,
University of Sydney,
New South Wales 2006,
AUSTRALIA
Email: dan.potts@arts.usyd.edu.au

Abstract

*Since the 1970s the chronological sequence of northwestern Central Plateau of Iran has been based on the findings of the sites of Zagheh, Ghabristan and Sagzabad in the Qazvin plain. Recent re-excavations of Zagheh in 2001 and Ghabristan in 2002 have supplemented earlier findings and provided new interpretations of the cultural sequence in this region of Iran. The data from the ceramic sequence and radiocarbon dating suggest that Zagheh was primarily a Chalcolithic site with no evidence of presence of Neolithic material. Preliminary results from the first season of the re-excavation of Ghabristan have also shed new light on the development of the local ceramic industry and the interpretation of the periodization of the site, especially in regard to Ghabristan III, the Gray Ware period.**

Background

The sites of Zagheh, Ghabristan and Sagzabad are located approximately 60 kilometres south of the modern town of Qazvin in the Zanjan province and 140 kilometres west of Tehran. The three sites are in close proximity with Zagheh lying two kilometres to the east of Sagzabad and Ghabristan about 300 metres to the west of the latter. Both Zagheh and Ghabristan are no more than one metre above the present level of the surrounding plain.¹

Until the 1970s the sequence of northwestern Central Plateau has been defined primarily by the findings at Sialk by R. Ghirshman.² Although E. Schmidt had excavated Cheshmeh Ali at Rayy in 1934–6 where he distinguished three cultural periods, Islamic, Parthian and Neolithic/Chalcolithic, the findings of this key site which yielded the distinctive pottery referred to as the Cheshmeh Ali ware were only briefly published in short bulletins.³

In the early 1970s E. O. Negahban, as the director of the Institute of Archaeology of Iran, instigated the excavations at Zagheh, Ghabristan and Sagzabad as part of a long-term project of archaeological research in the Qazvin plain that continued until 1979. At Zagheh, over 1350 square metres were exposed horizontally but only one deep sounding trench (T.T.F.G.X.)

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¹ Negahban 1974, p. 216; Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 23–24.

² Ghirshman 1938.

³ Schmidt 1935, pp. 41–9; 1936, pp. 79–87.

was excavated.⁴ This trench was an extension of a test trench (F.X.), measuring 1 × 1 metre, from the 1970 season, the result of which has not been published. The deep trench (T.T.F.G.X.) measured 3 × 3 metres at the top and 1 × 1.5 metres at the base where virgin soil was reached at 6.1 metres from the surface.⁵ It showed a continuous cultural sequence with no major disruption. Two major phases were defined: the earlier was characterized by Archaic Zagheh ceramic types, which consisted of plain, painted and 'crusted' ceramics, in levels IX–VI and the later phase was characterized by the presence of both Cheshmeh-Ali and Archaic Zagheh types in levels V–0 of the trench (see Table 1).⁶

Table 1 Summary of distribution of ceramic sherds in trench T.T.F.G.X. (adapted from Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, table 8)

Trench T.T.F.G.X. levels	Zagheh site levels	Number of sherds (ArchaicZagheh types)	Number of sherds (Cheshmeh-Ali type)
V–0	VIII–III	106	74
IX–VI	XII–IX	27	0

Level 0 was the uppermost level. The remaining Zagheh site levels of III–I referred to the large horizontal excavation at the village section. Findings of the horizontal excavation at Zagheh include:

1. Discovery of a shrine with interior decoration.
2. Graves with local and imported goods.
3. Administrative artifacts such as tokens.
4. Residential dwellings.

These findings were described in considerable details by Malek Shahmirzadi and Negahban.⁷

The ceramic findings have also been extensively described by Malek Shahmirzadi.⁸ The highly distinctive Cheshmeh-Ali ceramic has been found in all levels at the large horizontal excavation at the village section and the other trenches but only up to and including level V of the deep trench T.T.F.G.X. (equivalent to Zagheh site level VIII).⁹ This ceramic type has been used to establish a horizon style within northern Iran, occurring as far

⁴ Malek Shahmirzadi 1980, p. 14.

⁵ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, p. 84.

⁶ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, pp. 84–95 and chart I.

⁷ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, 1979; Negahban 1979.

⁸ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, pp. 273–349.

⁹ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, chart I.

east as the Gurgan region.¹⁰ Only two samples of burnt wood were taken from the test trench in 1970 for radiocarbon analyse.¹¹

At Ghabristan, several trenches were investigated, yielding nineteen archaeological levels corresponding to four cultural periods — Archaic, Early, Middle and Late Plateau periods (Table 2).

Table 2. Relative chronology of the early prehistoric Central Plateau
(after Majidzadeh 1981, p. 142)

Periods		Tepe Hissar	Tepe Sialk	Mortezagerd & Cheshmeh Ali		Ghabristan and Zagheh		Qara Tepe	Tepe Mahmoudieh	Qumm Region (Qara Tepe)
Late Plateau	B	1C	GAP			Ghabristan IV 3–1				
	A		III 6–7b			Ghabristan IV 6–4				
Gray Ware		GAP	GAP			Ghabristan III 8–7				
Middle Plateau	C	IB	III 4–5	X		Ghabristan II 10–9		Plum Ware	Plum Ware	X? Plum Ware
	B	1A	III 2–3	Cheshmeh Ali IB	Ghabristan I 13–11 Plum 16–14 Ware 19–17	C				
						B				
	A	III 1 Plum Ware	Plum Ware	B A	A					
Early Plateau	B		II	Cheshmeh Ali Upper IA		Late Cheshmeh Ali		X	X	X
	A		I	Cheshmeh Ali Lower IA		Early Cheshmeh Ali				
Archaic Plateau						Zagheh Ware				
						Neolithic belt				

Level 19 was the lowest level and situated just above the virgin soil. No stratigraphic sequence has been published and the chronology was established predominantly on ceramic evidence. Ghabristan I and III were marked by two “intrusive” stylistic elements, the Plum Ware and the Gray Ware¹². Majidzadeh interpreted the introduction of Plum Ware in Ghabristan I as a result of migration/invasion, which in turn caused

¹⁰ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, pp. 409–55; Voigt and Dyson 1992, pp. 166, 170, 172.

¹¹ Bovington and Masoumi 1972, p. 459.

¹² The Gray Ware in Ghabristan III should not be confused with the gray ware of the Bronze Age and Iron Age periods, which occurred over a millennium later.

widespread site abandonment across the northern Central Plateau.¹³ The sites included the north mound of Sialk, Zagheh, Cheshmeh-Ali, Ghara Tepe, Saveh, Tepe Mushalan and Mahmoudiyeh.¹⁴ Similarly, the introduction of Gray Ware in Ghabristan III was thought to be due to migration/invasion, which resulted in the “complete abandonment of the northern Rayy region”.¹⁵ The basic assumption here is that differences in pottery style and manufacture equate to differences in population/people.

The findings of Sagzabad were published as preliminary reports.¹⁶ Later, Tala’i¹⁷ published further on its architecture and bronze artefacts. Radiocarbon dating was not widely adopted by the excavators; only a total of seven charcoal samples have been taken from the three sites.¹⁸ Although Mashkour *et al.*¹⁹ have obtained fifteen radiocarbon determinations from mammalian bone samples from the 1970s excavation, interpretation of the new dates and comparison with the seven radiocarbon dates previously obtained from charcoal samples from these sites remains difficult for various reasons. Major problems include the lack of stratigraphic information on the trenches from which the specimens were collected and the variable state of preservation of the biological specimens.²⁰ Settlement periods represented by these dates range from 5212 to 4561 BC for Zagheh, 3782–2506 BC for Ghabristan and 1264 to 863 BC for Sagzabad²¹ and a chronology was proposed for the Qazvin plain incorporating the absolute dates into the model proposed by Majidzadeh and dividing the cultural periods into Neolithic, Chalcolithic Bronze and Iron Age.²²

Further recent research on the northern Central Plateau includes the re-excavation of the key site of Cheshmeh-Ali in 1997 and a settlement survey of the Rayy/Tehran plain carried out jointly by the University of Tehran and the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran in 1998.²³ In Cheshmeh-Ali, two trenches were excavated, reaching a depth of 11 metres and showing stratigraphic sequences that exhibit a pattern of change through time without any major disruption from the Late Neolithic to the Early Chalcolithic

¹³ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 97–100, 173–190; 1981, pp. 141–6.

¹⁴ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 182.

¹⁵ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 195.

¹⁶ Negahban 1974, pp. 216; 1976: 247–72; 1977, p. 33; Malek Shahmirzadi 1977b, pp. 67–76.

¹⁷ Tala’i 1983; 1984.

¹⁸ Bovington and Masoumi 1972, pp. 458–9.

¹⁹ Mashkour *et al.* 1999.

²⁰ Bovington and Masoumi 1972.

²¹ Mashkour *et al.* 1999, table 1.

²² Mashkour *et al.* 1999, fig. 3.

²³ Fazeli 2001.

period.²⁴ The 1998 settlement survey reported by Fazeli²⁵ was designed to study the variability, chronology and spatial patterning of the settlements in the Rayy/Tehran plain. Forty-five settlements have been identified. Of the twelve prehistoric settlements seven were new. Two important findings have resulted from this study. The first shows a continuity of settlements from the Transitional Chalcolithic period (5500–4700BC) to Early Chalcolithic period (4700–4000BC)²⁶ in contrast to the general abandonment of sites across the northern Central Plateau as suggested by Majidzadeh who interpreted it as a result of the invasion/migration of the Plum Ware people.²⁷ The second illustrates the instability of settlement occupation in the Rayy/Tehran plain in the Chalcolithic period. Elsewhere, environmental changes have been thought to be the major factor causing the phenomenon as seen in collapse of many settlements in southwestern Iran and Mesopotamia.²⁸ Tosi had also observed the redistribution of the population of Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age settlements in eastern Iran into small sized villages within the oases aligned on the branches of the land-locked delta fans.²⁹ He suggested that the decline was due to long-lasting internal socio-economic crises originating from the extensive exploitation of human and natural resources.

Based on findings of the re-excavation at Cheshmeh Ali and the results of the settlement survey conducted in Tehran plain, a new cultural sequence was proposed (Table 3).

Re-excavations of Zagheh 2001 and Ghabristan 2002

In the recent re-excavations of Zagheh and Ghabristan the stratigraphic strata were distinguished mainly by changes in soil colour and texture rather than by architectural features. Contexts numbers have been used for layers and features and their relationship presented by means of Harris matrices.

i. *Re-excavation of Zagheh*

The main objectives in the re-excavation of Zagheh in 2001 were to ascertain the settlement size of the site, demonstrate the craft areas of the site and collect radiocarbon samples to establish an absolute chronology. Eight trenches were opened, of which five reached virgin soil (see Fig. 1 for

²⁴ Fazeli 2001, pp. 74–76.

²⁵ Fazeli 2001, pp. 251–2.

²⁶ Fazeli 2001, pp. 251–2.

²⁷ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 182.

²⁸ Hole 1994.

²⁹ Tosi 1979, pp. 165–7.

Table 3 The prehistoric chronology of the Tehran plain (Fazeli 2001: table 3.2)

Period	Rayy/Tehran plain	Qazvin plain	Kashan Plain
Late Chalcolithic (c.3500–3000 BC)	Maymonabad, Mehdikani, Mafinabad, Sadeghabadi, Chouqali	Ghabristan IV	Sialk III 6–7
Middle Chalcolithic (c.4000–3500 BC)	Mehdikani, Mafinabad, Chouqali, Sadeghabadi, Chakhmak Tepe, Mortezagerd, Cheshmeh-Ali	Ghabristan II & III	Sialk III 4–5
Early Chalcolithic (c.4700–4000 BC)	Mehdikani, Mafinabad, Poeinak, Sadeghabadi, Chouqali, Parandak, Mortezagerd, Cheshmeh-Ali, Kara Tepe (Sharyar*), Fakrabad, Ismailabad (Karaj)**, Ozbaki.	Ghabristan I	Sialk III 1–3 (South mound)
			[GAP]
Transitional Chalcolithic (c.5500–4700 BC)	Mehdikani, Mafinabad, Sadeghabadi, Chouqali, Cheshmeh-Ali, Parandak, Kara Tepe (Sharyar), Ozbaki, Poeinak, Ismailabad (Karaj)	Akbarabad, Zagheh I–VIII	Sialk II (North mound)
Late Neolithic (c.6200–5500 BC)	Sadeghabadi, Cheshmeh- Ali, Ozbaki	Zagheh IX–XII, Cheshm-Bolbol	Sialk I (North mound)

*also referred to as “Shahriyar” (Burton-Brown 1962)

**to be distinguished from “Ismailabad (Qazvin)”

location of trenches). The other three (C, C₁ and C₂) did not uncover any archaeological layers. Details of the five deep trenches are as follows:

Table 4 Details of the five deep trenches at Zagheh excavation 2001

Trench	Size at surface	Size at base	Depth from ground surface	No. of layers	No. of contexts
A	2 × 5 metres	2 × 2 metres	4.5 metres	31	47
C ₃	2 × 2 metres	2 × 1 metres	4 metres	19	25
D	2 × 2 metres	2 × 2 metres	5.25 metres	24	26
E	2 × 2 metres	2 × 2 metres	5 metres	25	30
K	2 × 2 metres	2 × 2 metres	6.3 metres	23	27

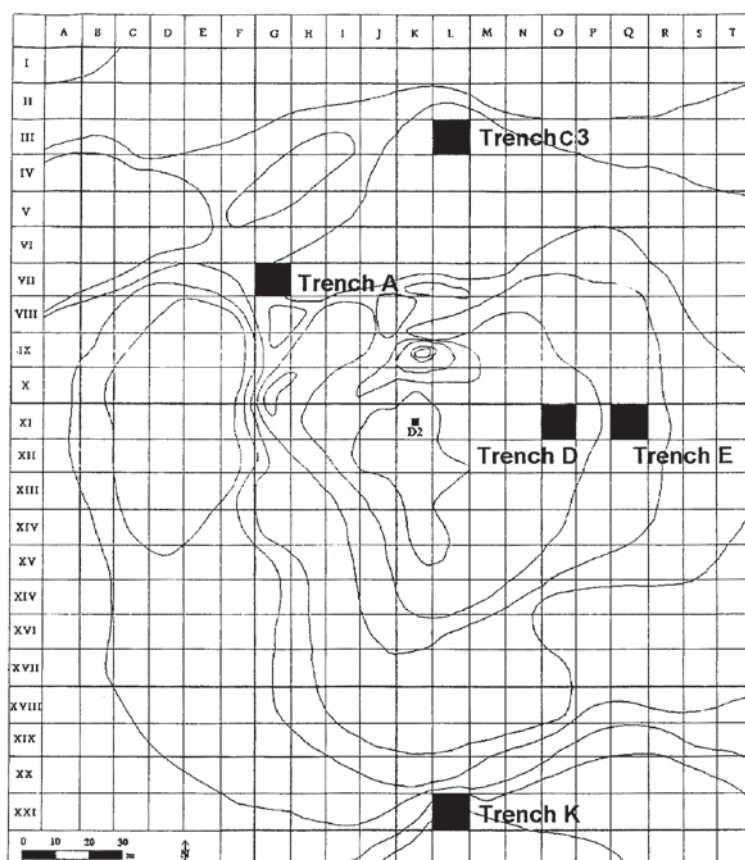


Figure 1 Location of trenches at Zagheh excavation 2001

This provides for a total area of 18 square metres at the basal layers for the examination of stratigraphic deposits and remains as compared to the 1.5 square metres in the 1970s excavation. Ten radiocarbon samples were taken from Trench A.

Trench A (Fig. 2)³⁰

Trench A is located about 50 metres northwest of the deep trench T.T.F.G.X.³¹ of excavated by Malek Shahmirzadi in the 1970s. It contained

³⁰ Only the stratigraphic drawing of the south wall is available. Hence, contexts 2–5 and 11–24 that were located in the north wall are not represented. The contour interval is at 50cm. The absolute elevations are not available.

³¹ The exact location cannot be determined but it is estimated to be in the region of square (L,IX) in the present map.

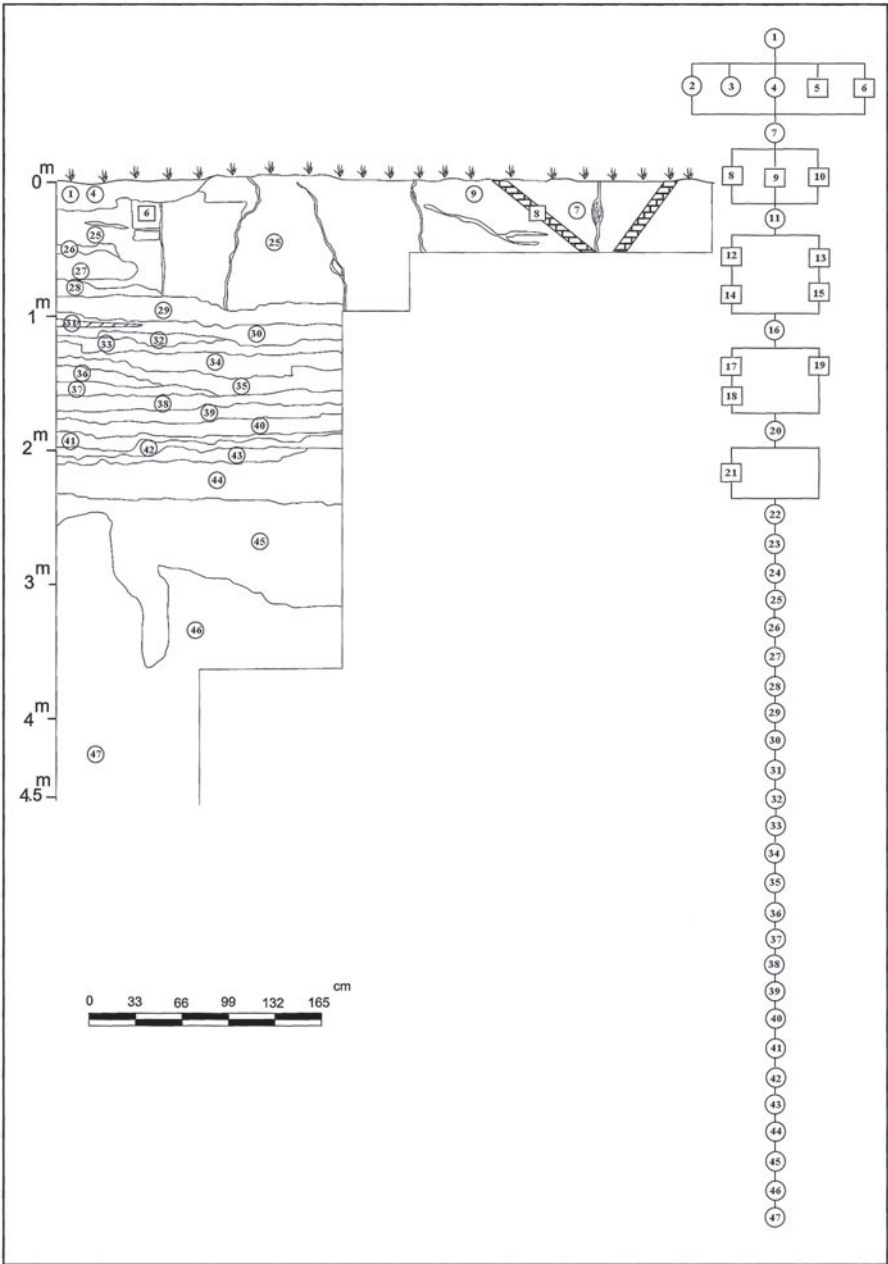


Figure 2 Stratigraphic sequence of the south wall and Harris Matrix of Trench A

one burial in the uppermost layer (context 1) together with two bone needles. Architectural features such as walls and floors as well as ovens were found in subsequent levels. Several pits were located in contexts 26–32. Bones, stone tools and pottery sherds were found in all layers except two of the pits (contexts 27 and 31). Copper tools and spindle whorls have been found in context 11.

Table 5 Context description of Trench A

Context No.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion	Comments
1	Layer	V. pale brown 10YR 7/4	hard	70% compact clay 20% ash 10% sand	animal bones, skeleton, pottery stone tools, mudbrick clay, bone tools, charcoal	
2	skeleton (burial)					
3	awl/needle					Beside skeleton
4	awl/needle					Beside skeleton
5	wall	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6				
6	wall	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6				mudbrick
7	layer	V. Pale Brown 10YR 7/4	hard	80% clay 15% ash 5% sand	bone & stone tools architecture, charcoal	
8	wall	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6				
9	wall	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6				
10	floor	V. pale brown 10YR 7/4				
11	layer	V. pale brown 10YR 7/4	hard	90% clay 10% ash	charcoal, stone tools, copper tools, spindle whorls	
12	standard ware	light grey 10YR 7/2				

Context No.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion	Comments
13	oven					for breadmaking
14	inside oven					
15	oven					
16	sand floor					
17	oven					
18	stone under oven					
19	ground stone					
20	floor					
21	layer	pale brown 10YR 6/3	hard	95% sand 5% charcoal	pottery, bone	
22	stone slab under oven					
23/24	layer	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	hard	80% sand 20% charcoal & ash	bone, charcoal, ash white inclusions, pottery	
25	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	loose	100% ash	bone, charcoal, ash small white inclusions	
26	layer (pit)	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	hard	90% compact clay 10% sand	bone, stone, pottery	
27	layer (pit)	pale yellow 5Y 6/3	loose	100% ash	nil	
28	layer (pit)	pale yellow 5Y 6/3	loose	100% ash	pottery, bone	
29	layer (pit)	light grey 2.5YR 7/4	loose	90% ash 10% clay	charcoal, bone	
30	layer (pit)	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	hard	100% compact clay	charcoal, bone	
31	layer (pit)	V. dark grey 5Y 3/1	loose	90% ash 10% clay	nil	
32	layer (pit)	pale yellow 5Y 7/3	loose	70% white clay 30% compact clay & loose sand	charcoal, bone, pottery	

Context No.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion	Comments
33	layer	light yellowish brown 2.5Y 6/3	loose	70% ash 30% compact clay & loose sand	pottery, bone, charcoal, stone tools	
34	layer	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	loose	70% clay 20% sand 10% ash & charcoal	pottery, bone, ash	
35	layer	pale olive 5Y 6/4	loose	90% ash & charcoal 10% clay	bone, ash	
36	layer	olive yellow 2.5Y 6/6	loose	90% ash & charcoal 10% sand	pottery, bone, stone tools.	
37	layer	pale yellow 5Y 6/4	loose	90% ash & charcoal 10% sand	pottery, stone tools, bone	
38	layer	pale yellow 5Y 2/3	loose	90% ash & charcoal 10% sand	pottery, stone tools, bone	
39	layer	olive 5Y 5/3	loose	80% ash 10% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone	
40	floor	light yellowish brown 10YR	hard	100% clay		
41	layer	light brownish grey 7.5Y 6/2	loose	80% ash & charcoal 20% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone, charcoal	
42	collapsed mud brick wall	light yellowish brown 10YR	hard	100% compact clay	pottery, bone needle	
43	layer	pale olive 5Y 6/4	loose	90% charcoal 10% clay	charcoal, ash, pottery, bone and stone tools	
44	collapsed wall	light yellowish brown 10YR	hard	90% compact clay 10% chaff	pottery, stone tools, bone needle, bone	
45	layer (pit)	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	loose	90% ash 10% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone	
46	layer	V. pale brown 10YR 7/4	hard	100% clay	pottery, bone, stone tools	
47	jar					

Trenches C3, D, E and K

Trenches C3, D and E contain pottery, walls, floors, oven, bones, stone tools and burials, suggesting that they may represent domestic areas. There is, however, a general lack of these domestic features in trench K which is located at the southern edge of the mound where no ovens, walls, floors or burials have been found (Fig. 3). In contrast, this trench contains the highest number of pottery sherds, accounting for 31.8% of the total sherd recovery, and remains of kilns were found in contexts 3, 4 and 18. In contexts 8 and 9, fragments of finished, unfinished and deformed figurines were recovered together with spindle whorls and raw materials (clay lumps) for pottery making. Pigment was found inside a bowl suggesting that it may have been material used for painting pottery. These artifacts are similar to those found by Malek Shahmirzadi in the 'workshop area'.³² In addition, large stone bowls with pounding marks on their interior walls were also uncovered. The exact function of these bowls is not known. Cores showing signs of being heated have been found, suggesting lithic tool production may also have taken place here. Together with the general lack of domestic and residential features, the evidence of ceramic and lithic production suggests that the trench is likely to be located in an area of craft production.

The stratigraphic evidence from the latest excavation at Zagheh shows continuous occupation with no disruption. There are too few structures in the excavated trenches to make any architectural inference. The strata were distinguished by changes in soil colour, texture and composition. Individual layers in Trench K were particularly difficult to distinguish, as the soil layers were soft and colours between the adjacent layers indistinct. This is probably due to the high percentage of ash in the composition of the layers.

The depths of the archaeological layers vary from 4 to 6.3 metres from ground surface. Trenches A, D and E, which reached virgin soil at between 4.5 to 5.25 metres, are within 60 metres from the deep trench T.T.F.G.X. in the 1970s excavation

³² Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, pp. 358–376.

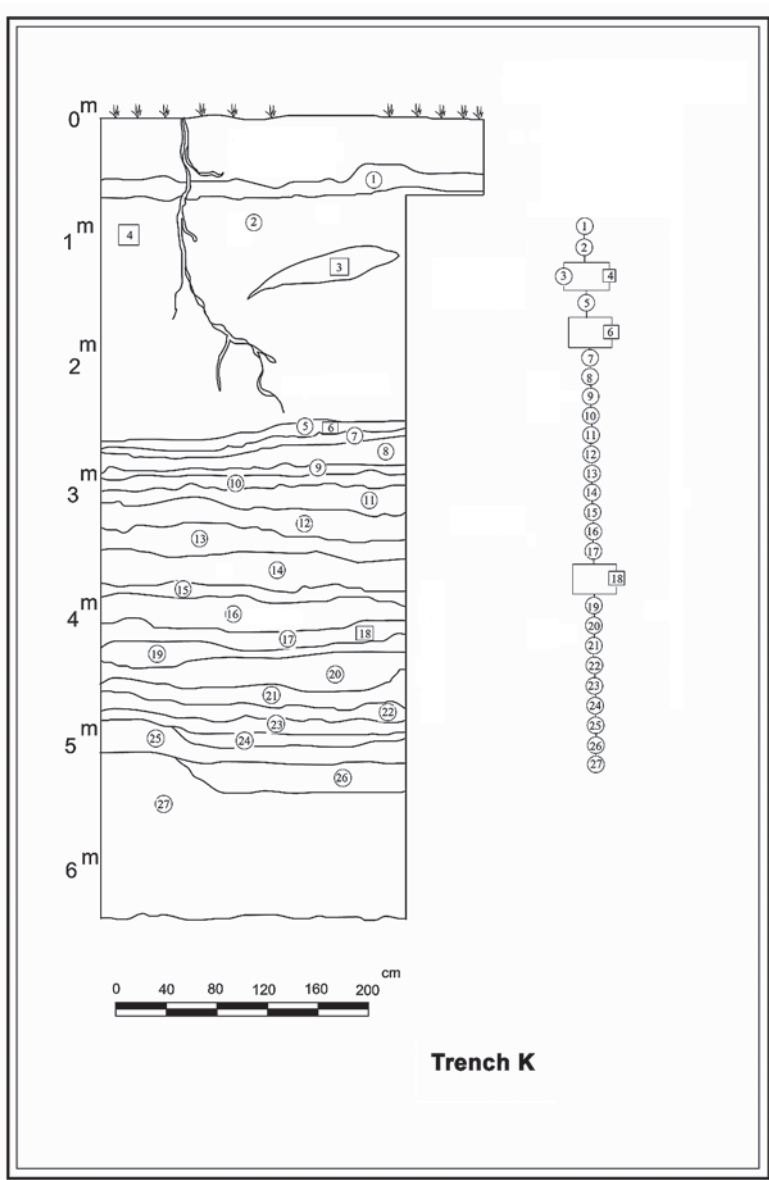


Figure 3 Stratigraphic sequence and Harris Matrix of Trench K

Table 6 Context description of Trench K

Context no.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion
1	layer	V.pale brown 10YR 8/2	loose	95% ash, 5% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone
2	layer	V. dark greyish brown 10YR 3/2	loose	90% ash 10% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone
3	kiln				
4	kiln				
5	layer	V. dark greyish brown 10YR 3/2	medium loose	90% ash 10% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone
6	kiln				
7	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	loose	90% ash 10% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone
8	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	loose	80% ash	pottery, stone tools,
				20% clay	bone, figurine
9	layer	V. dark greyish brown 10YR 3/2	loose	80% ash 20% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone, human and animal figurines
10	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	hard	90% clay 10% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
11	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	hard	70% clay 20% ash 10% sand	pottery, charcoal, ash, bone, stone tools
12	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	hard	80% clay 20% ash	pottery, stone tools, ash
13	layer	V. dark greyish brown 10YR 3/2	loose	80% ash 20% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone
14	layer	V. dark greyish brown 10YR 3/2	loose	90% ash 10% clay	pottery, stone tools, bone
15	layer	brown 10YR 5/3	hard	90% clay, 10% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone

Context no.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion
16	layer	yellowish brown 10YR 5/6	loose	80% ash 20% clay	pottery, bone
17	layer	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6	loose	80% clay 20% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
18	kiln	white 10YR 8/1	hard	70% clay 15% ash, 15% slag	
19	layer	dark grey 10YR 4/1	loose	90% ash, 10% clay	pottery, bone
20	layer	brown 10YR 4/3	medium	70% clay, 30% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
21	layer	dark greyish brown 10YR 4/2	hard	70% clay 30% ash	pottery, bone
22	layer	dark grey 10YR 4/1	loose	90% ash 10% clay	pottery, bone
23	layer	dark yellowish brown 10YR 4/4	hard	90% clay 10% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
24	layer	dark brown 10YR 3/3	loose	90% clay 10% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
25	layer	brown 10YR 5/3	loose	60% grit, 40% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
26	layer	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	hard	95% clay 5% ash	pottery, stone tools, bone
27	layer	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6	hard	100% clay	pottery

Ceramics

The ceramics recovered from the re-excavation of Zagheh have been classified according to the typological categories established by Malek Shahmirzadi into Zagheh types and Cheshmeh Ali type.³³ Zagheh types consist of plain (simple), painted and ‘crusted’ types. All pottery from Zagheh is

³³ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a.

handmade. Forms in this period are limited to open bowls with straight, oblique or carinated walls and concave or flat bases for all types. The firing condition of most pottery is generally adequate in this period except for vessels with thick walls in which an area of black in the core indicates insufficient firing.

The Simple (undecorated) Zagheh type is the most abundant accounting for 35.7% of the total number of sherds recovered in the excavation. There is a certain bias in this figure since sherds from undecorated portion of the Painted Zagheh type may be counted as the Simple Zagheh type. In fact, apart from the presence of painted decoration there is little difference in colour, fabric and form between the two types. Forms are restricted to open bowls with oblique walls and flat or concave bases. Both surfaces are smoothed and slipped. The temper has a moderate to large amount of organic material and natural silt-sized lithic inclusions from the clay are common.³⁴ The surface colour ranges from pink (5YR 7/4), reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), 10YR 6/3 pale brown to pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3). The core colour is generally brownish grey.

The Painted Zagheh type consists of open bowls with carinated, concave or oblique walls, tapering rims and concave bases. Both surfaces are generally smoothed and slipped. Burnishing is present on the interior and often both surfaces. The temper consists of inorganic and organic materials and has a very similar petrofabric to the Crusted type despite variation of the proportion of the components.³⁵ The surface colour ranges from very pale brown (10YR 7/4) to brownish grey (10YR 6/2). The core is predominantly light grey. The paint used in the decoration is of diluted red ochre which turns a dark or reddish brown colour after firing.³⁶ The motifs are listed in **Table 8** and representative sherds are illustrated in **Figure 4**. Painted motifs are present on the exterior or both surfaces of the vessels. No animal or bird motifs have been found.

³⁴ Fazeli and Djamali 2002, p. 215.

³⁵ Fazeli and Djamali 2002, p. 215.

³⁶ Malek Shahmirzadi 1980, p. 6.

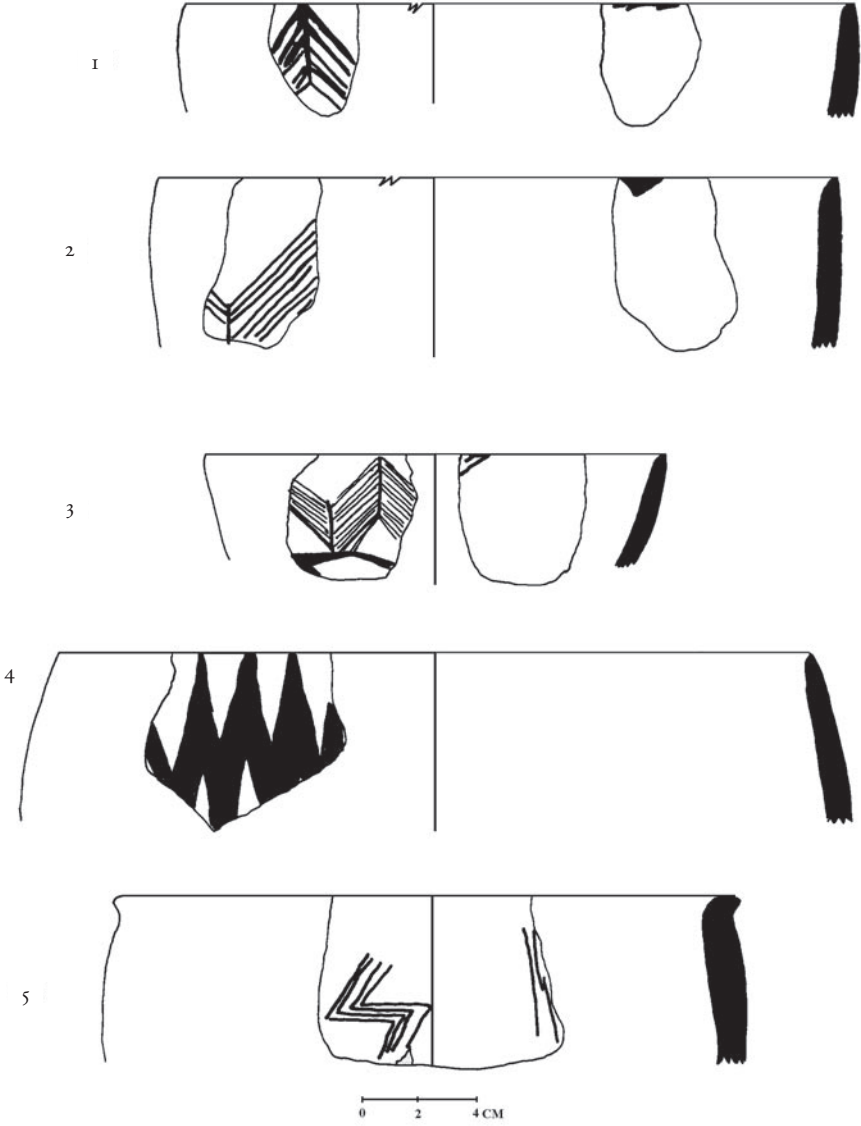


Figure 4

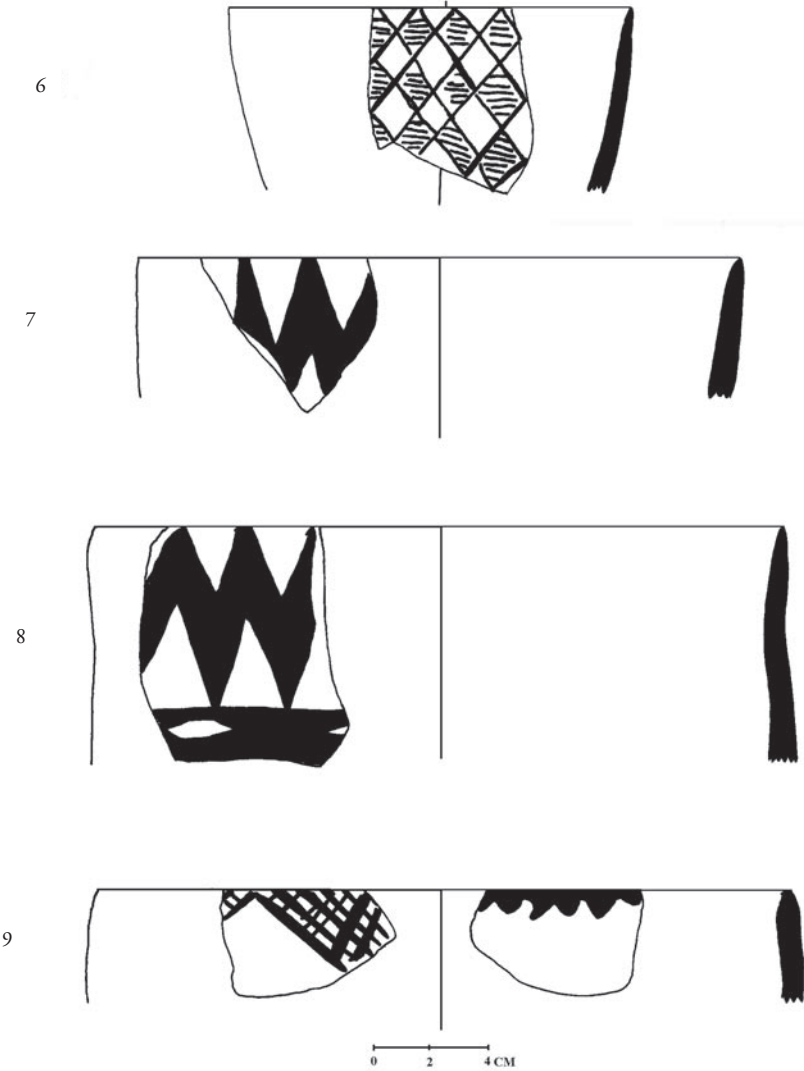


Figure 4

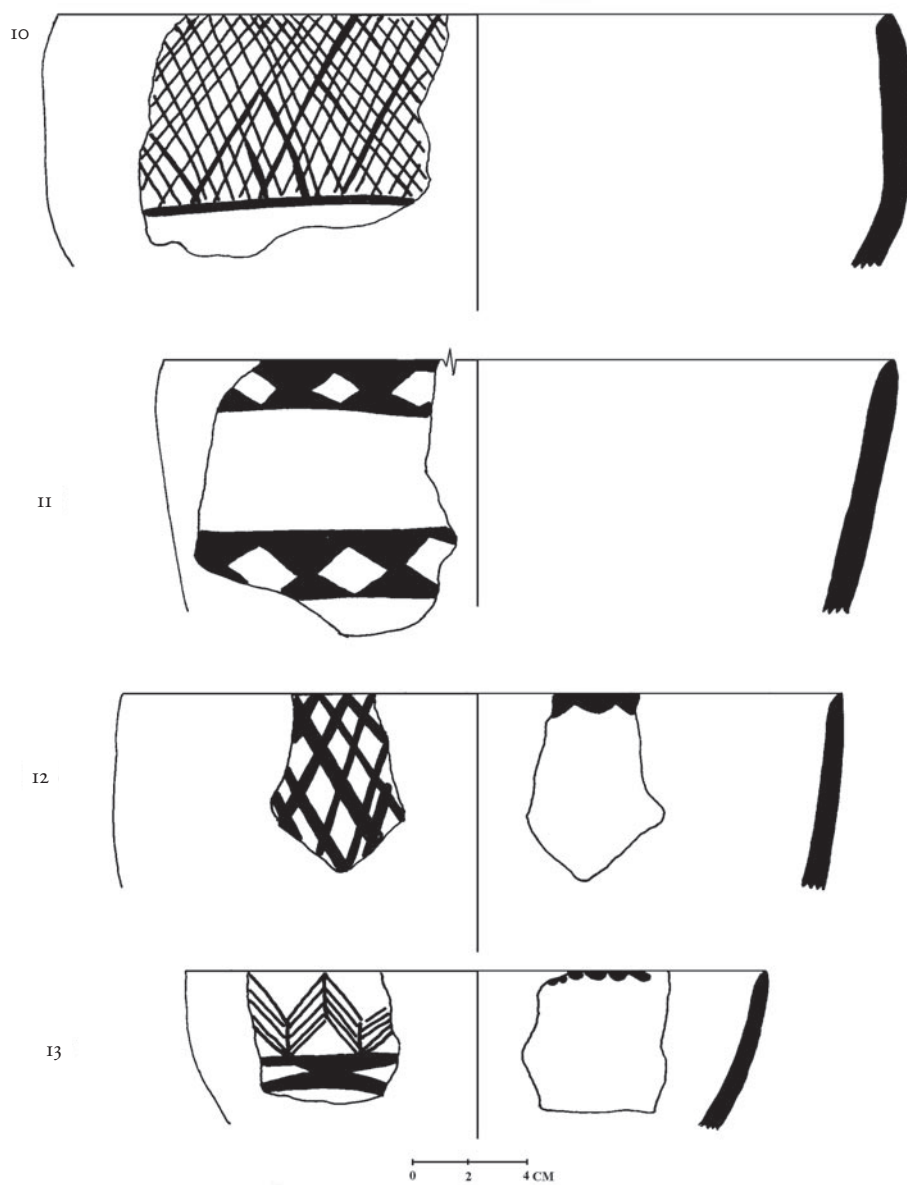


Figure 4

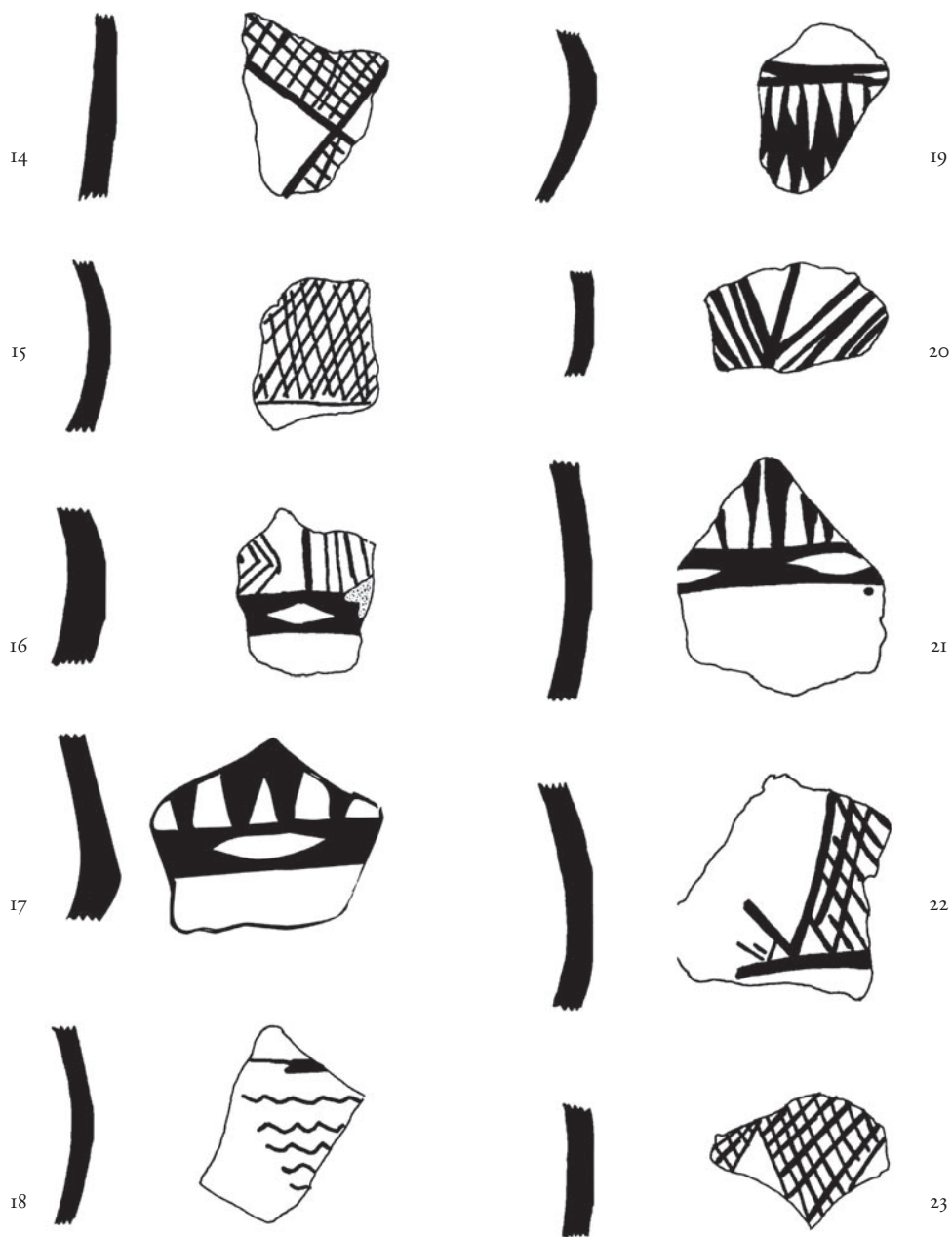


Figure 4 Ceramics of Painted Zagheh type

Table 7 Description of sherds in Figure 4

Line Drawing Ref	Trench & Context No.	Temper	Firing condition	Texture of Fabric	Slip Surface	Surface colour	Thickness (mm)	Type of sherd
1	A7	Both	Well	Fine	Both	10YR 7/3 very pale brown	5	Rim
2	A7	Both	Sufficient	Fine	Both	10YR 6/3 pale brown	7	Rim
3	A37	Inorganic	Sufficient	Fine	Both	5YR 6/4 light reddish brown	5	Rim
4	K1	Both	Sufficient	Medium	Both	2.5Y 6/2 light brownish gray	9	Rim
5	A7	Inorganic	Sufficient	Fine	Both	10YR 7/3 very pale brown	5	Rim
6	K1	Inorganic	Sufficient	Medium	Both	10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown	4	Rim
7	K1	Both	Sufficient	Medium	Both	10YR 8/3 very pale brown	8	Rim
8	K1	Inorganic	Sufficient	Medium	Both	2.5Y 8/3 pale yellow	8	Rim
9	A45	Both	Well	Fine	Both	10YR 8/3 very pale brown	6	Rim
10	A46	Both	Insufficient	Fine	Both	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	7	Rim
11	C19	Both	Sufficient	Fine	Both	5YR 6/4 light reddish brown	7	Rim
12	A46	Organic	Well	Fine	Both	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	7	Rim
13	A7	Both	Sufficient	Fine	Both	10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown	5	Rim
14	A46	Both	Well	Medium	Both	7.5YR 7/4 pink	9	Body
15	A32	Both	Sufficient	Medium	Both	2.5Y 8/4 pale yellow	8	Body
16	A7	Both	Insufficient	Coarse	Both	10YR 7/4 very pale brown	13	Body
17	K1	Inorganic	Well	Medium	Both	7.5YR 8/3 pink	12	Body
18	K1	Inorganic	Sufficient	Fine	Both	7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	6	Body
19	K1	Inorganic	Sufficient	Medium	Both	2.5Y 8/3 pale yellow	8	Body

Line Drawing Ref	Trench & Context No.	Temper	Firing condition	Texture of Fabric	Slip Surface	Surface colour	Thickness (mm)	Type of sherd
20	D1	Organic	Well	Fine	Both	7.5YR 7/3 pink	7	Body
21	K1	Both	Sufficient	Medium	Both	2.5Y 8/2 pale yellow	10	Body
22	A45	Both	Sufficient	Medium	Both	5YR 5/4 reddish brown	8	Body
23	A7	Inorganic	Well	Medium	Both	10YR 7/3 very pale brown	8	Body

Table 8 Motifs of the Painted Zagheh type of ceramics

Illustration No.	Motifs	Malek Shahmirzadi (1977a)
1, 2, 3, 20	"Pine trees"/herring bone pattern	Fig. 68 no.7
4, 7, 8	Thick zigzags	Plate III no.24
6#	Horizontal hatched diamonds	Plate V no.15
9, 22, 23	Cross hatched triangles	Plate III no.37
10, 12, 15	Cross hatching, cross hatched band	Plate X no. 20
11	Reserved diamonds/filled hourglasses	Plate VI no.15
13	"Pine-trees"/herring bone pattern on band of reserved diamonds	Fig. 68 no.6 Plate XIII nos. 18, 19
17, 19, 21	Zigzags with thick lines close together on a band of reserved diamonds	Plate III nos. 24, 66 Plate VI no.14 Fig. 68 no.24
14	Cross hatched diamonds	Plate VI no. 10
16	Combination of vertical lines and zigzags on a band of reserved diamonds	Plate III no. 30
18	Thin wavy lines	Plate III no.32

This motif is typical of Cheshmeh-Ali type

Crusted ceramics have been found only at Zagheh and Kamal-Abad in this period.³⁷ Malek Shahmirzadi proposed that the external surface of the vessel was rolled over a bed of sand before drying and when it was subsequently fired the sand particles adhered to the surface, forming part of the

³⁷ Fazeli and Djamli: 2002, p. 209.

texture of the exterior wall.³⁸ The interior surface is slipped and mostly burnished. The temper consists of both organic and inorganic material and the sand particles are well rounded and medium to coarse in size.³⁹ The wall of this type of vessel is generally up to 1.8cm in thickness and some show signs of fire scorching on the outer surface, suggesting that they may have been used for cooking. Fazeli and Djamali have suggested that the rough surface of this type may provide a more secure grip and increase heat absorption and evaporation of liquids⁴⁰. This practice of manufacturing cooking/baking ware is still in use in present day Iran. Painted decorations are rare and generally consist of a thin band at the lip or simple fingerprinting motif.

Cheshmeh-Ali type accounts for the lowest percentage of all ceramic types found in Zagheh. The clay used for the production of this ceramic type is very fine and well levigated. Malek Shahmirzadi postulated that the clay or the vessels were imported, based on the empirical observation that the clay used was quite different from the local clay source.⁴¹ However, recent petrographic studies of eighty samples taken from Zagheh and neighbouring Kama-Abad have shown that clay used for the Cheshmeh-Ali type could have come from local source.⁴² The temper is composed of grit and fine sand with a small to medium amount of organic material.⁴³ Forms consist of bowls with oblique or concave walls and concave or trumpet base. Jars are rare. Most of the Cheshmeh-Ali type ceramics are slipped on both surfaces and some are slightly burnished. The thin walled fine grit tempered vessels are well and evenly fired while the thicker wall vessels show gray cores. It has observed that in the Zagheh types the firing temperature was likely to be below 800–850°C from the presence of calcareous sandy temper and in the Cheshmeh-Ali type the calcareous temper of a few sherds showed empty spaces where the carbonates of the sand have decomposed as a result from the higher firing temperature.⁴⁴ The surface colour is predominantly red/reddish brown, ranging from 2.5YR 5/6 — 5/8, 5YR 4/4, 10YR 5/6 to pink 7.5YR 7/4. The core colour is often very similar to the surface colour, especially in the thin-walled vessels. A mineral paint was used in the decoration that turned dark brown or black on

³⁸ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, p. 286.

³⁹ Fazeli and Djamali 2002, p. 213–215.

⁴⁰ Fazeli and Djamali 2002. Experimental findings in regard to the effects of heat effectiveness as function of texture are by no means conclusive (see review by Rice 1996, pp. 138–141)

⁴¹ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, p. 281.

⁴² Fazeli and Djamali 2002, pp. 213–4.

⁴³ Fazeli and Djamali: 2002, p. 215.

⁴⁴ Fazeli n.d.

firing.⁴⁵ Motifs consist of geometric and composite geometric designs such as basketry/brickwork pattern (Fig. 5: 1, 25), zigzags (Fig. 5: 5, 8, 10, 19), swastika (Fig. 5: 9), dots (Fig. 5: 11), pendant loops (Fig. 5: 12), horizontally hatched diamonds in rows/columns (Fig. 5: 20, 23), horizontally hatched triangles in rows (Fig. 5: 24), crossed hatched triangles (Fig. 5: 21), linked ovals in chains (Fig. 5: 22), linked ovals with vertical hatchings (Fig. 5: 28), bisected ovals (Fig. 5: 30), loops (Fig. 5: 4, 30), rows of alternating triangles (Fig. 5: 27), ovals with central dots (Fig. 5: 26) and representational motifs such as birds in rows/columns (Fig. 5: 13–15), goats with notched horns (Fig. 5: 16, 17), flowers/foilage (Fig. 5: 18). While many of these motifs have been reported by Malek Shahmirzadi from the upper levels of the 1970s excavation,⁴⁶ some are new (Fig. 5: 9, 26) and some show parallels to the motifs found in contemporary Zagheh types (Fig. 5: 12, 23, 25). Motifs of the Cheshmeh-Ali type at Zagheh also show parallels to those found at Transitional Chalcolithic levels at Cheshmeh-Ali as well as Sialk II (see Table 10).

Table 9 Description of ceramic sherds in Figure 5

Line drawing ref.	Trench & context no.	Temper	Texture of fabric	Slip surface	Surface colour	Thickness (mm)	Type of sherd
1	E1	Inorganic	Medium	Both	5.6YR 5/6 yellowish red	8	Rim
2	E6	Both	Fine	Both	10R 5/6 red	6	Rim
3	K1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 6/6 red	6	Rim
4	K1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	4	Rim
5	K1	Both	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	9	Rim
6	K5	Both	Fine	Both	10YR 7/2 light gray	5	Rim
7	D26	Organic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	4	Rim
8	D9	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	5	Rim
9	K8	Inorganic	Fine	Both	5YR 6/4 light reddish brown	6	Rim
10	E1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	5	Rim

⁴⁵ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, p. 283.

⁴⁶ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, pp. 283–4.

Line drawing ref.	Trench & context no.	Temper	Texture of fabric	Slip surface	Surface colour	Thickness (mm)	Type of sherd
11	A46	Inorganic	Fine	Both	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	5	Rim
12	K1	Inorganic	Medium	Both	7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	9	Rim
13	E1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown	5	Rim
14	E1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/4 red	5	Body
15	E8	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	7	Body
16	C15	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	5	Rim
17	A43	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 6/6 light red	4	Body
18	A46	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 6/6 light red	4	Body
19	Ko	Organic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	6	Rim
20	K1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	4	Rim
21	Co	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	6	Rim
22	K1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	5	Rim
23	E17	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	3	Body
24	E18	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	2	Body
25	K1	Inorganic	Medium	Both	10R 5/6 red	9	Body
26	E1	Both	Coarse	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	14	Body
27	K1	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 4/6 red	4	Body
28	C2	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	3	Body
29	E15	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	3	Body
30	K1	Both	Fine	Both	10R 5/6 red	5	Body
31	E9	Inorganic	Fine	Both	5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray	4	Body
32	C15	Inorganic	Fine	Both	2.5YR 5/6 red	4	Body

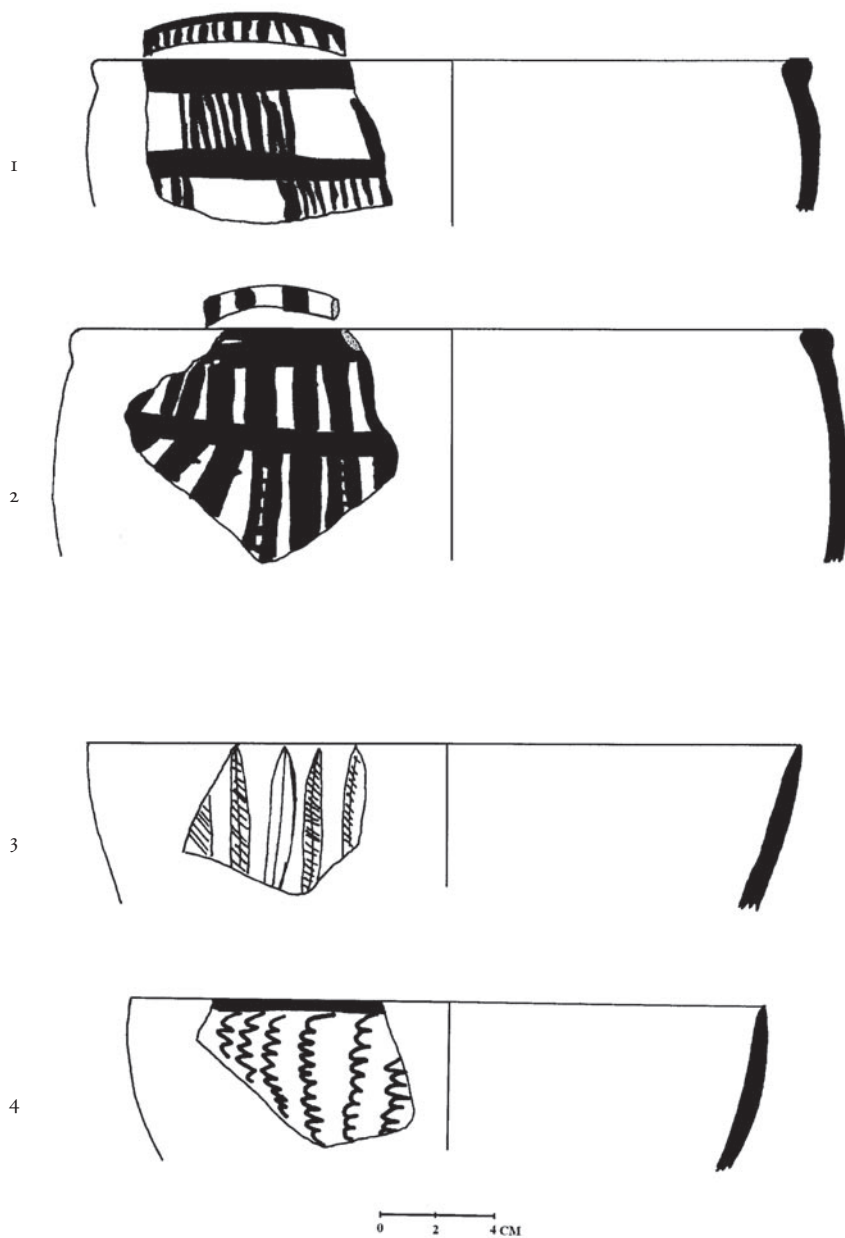


Figure 5

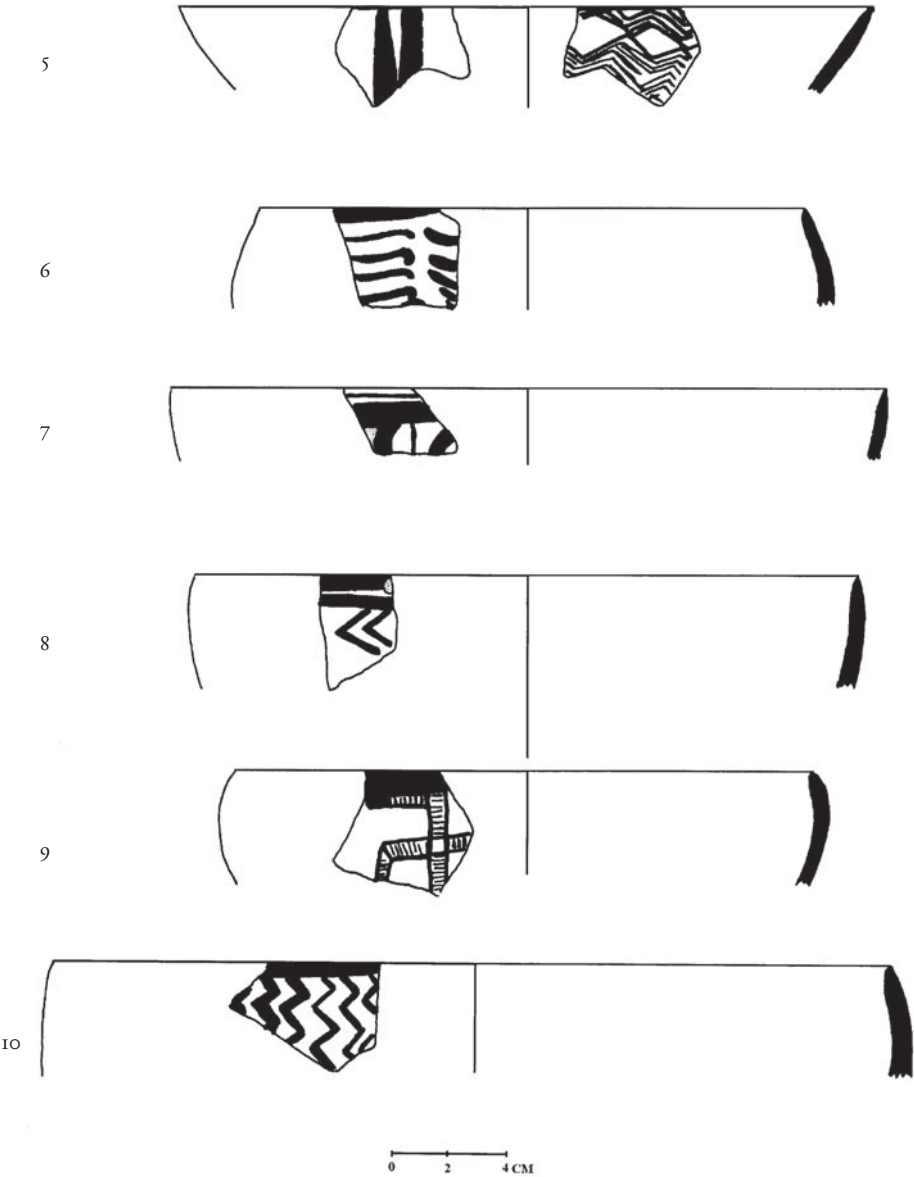


Figure 5

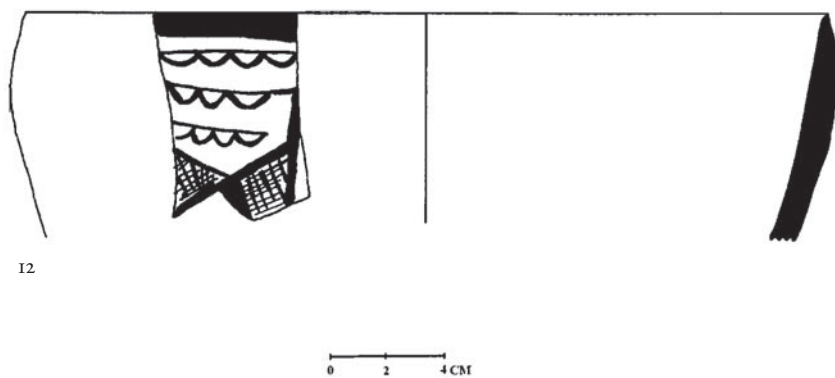
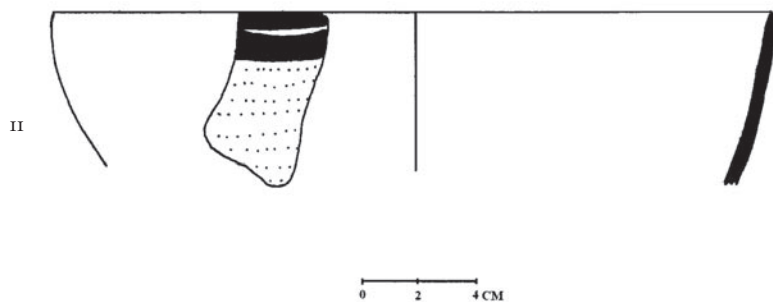


Figure 5

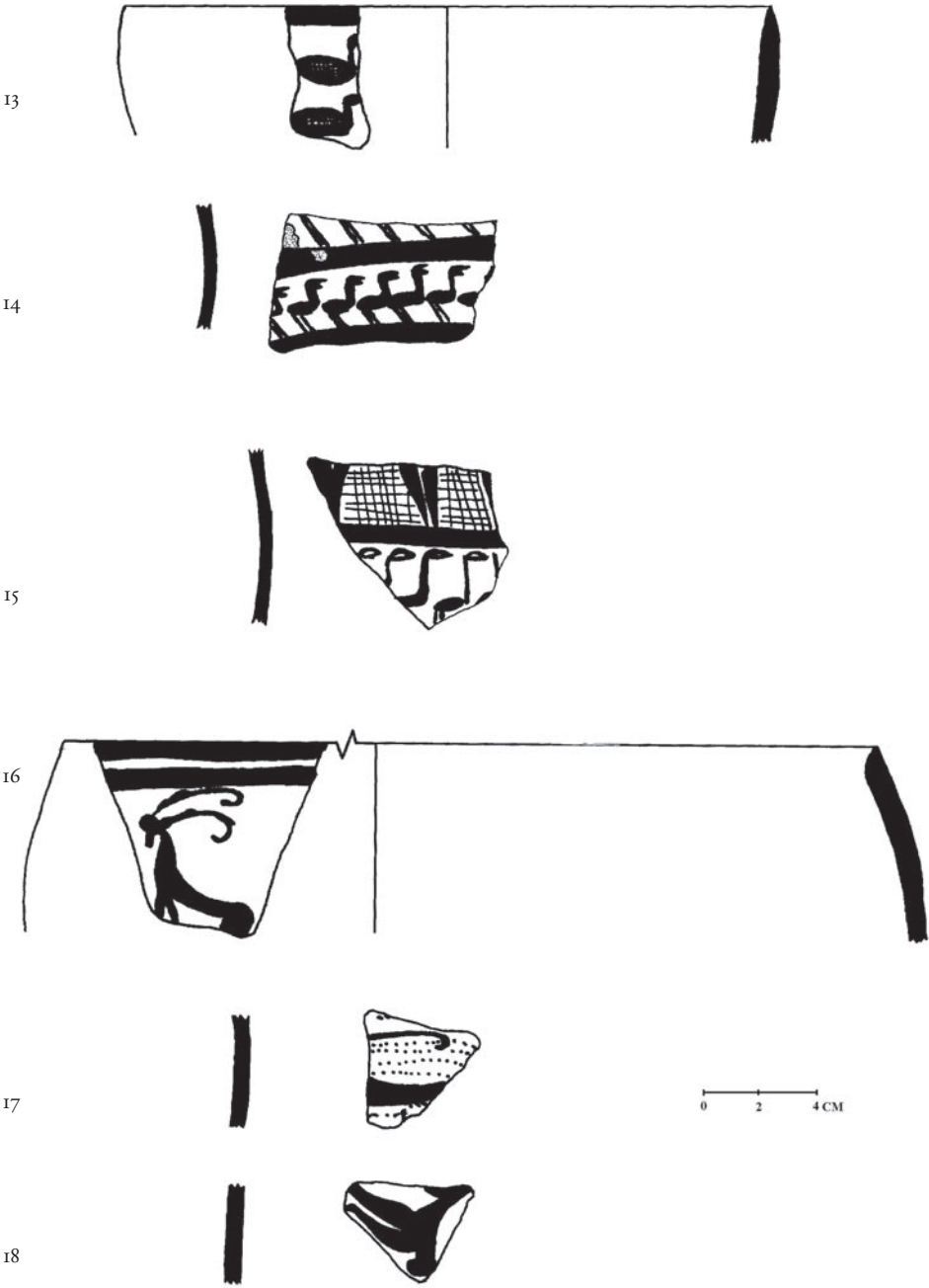


Figure 5

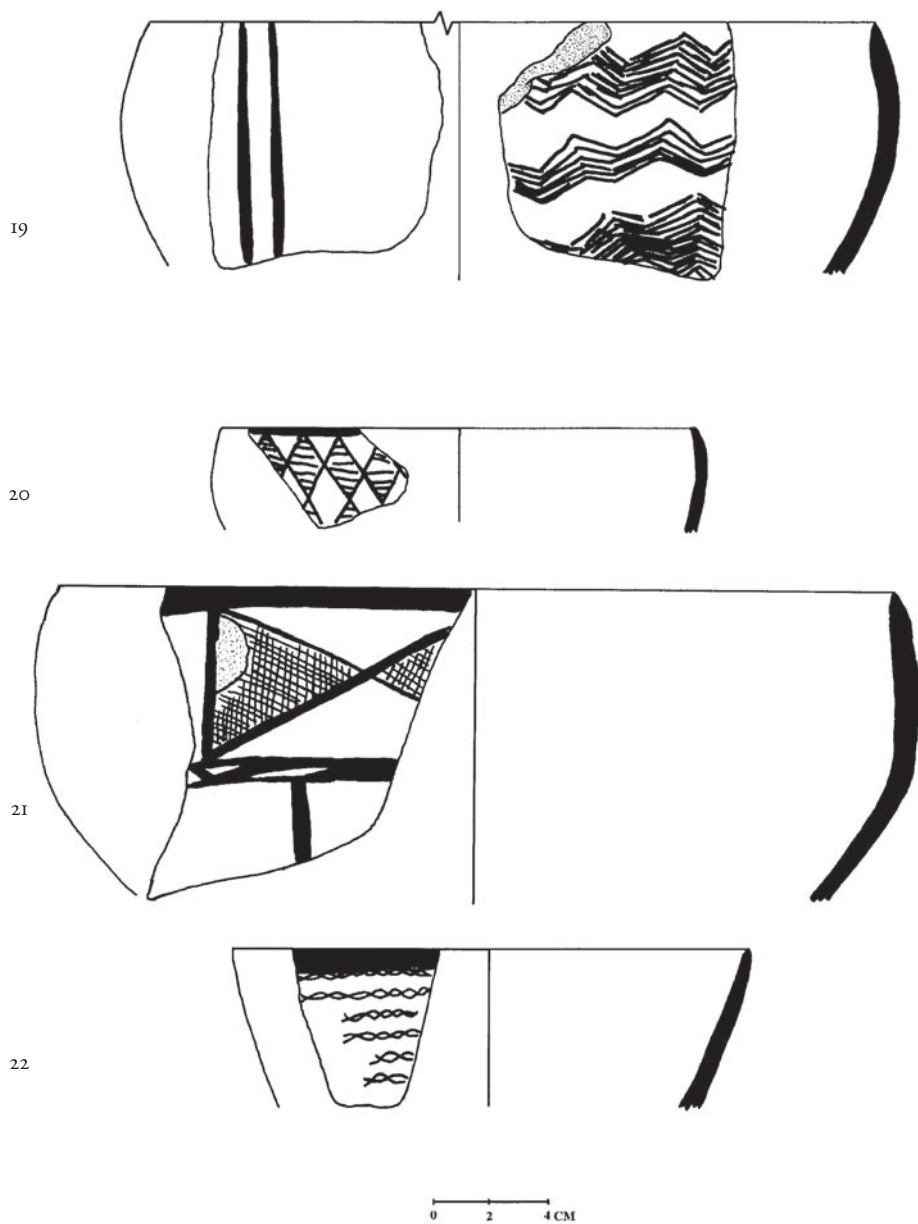


Figure 5

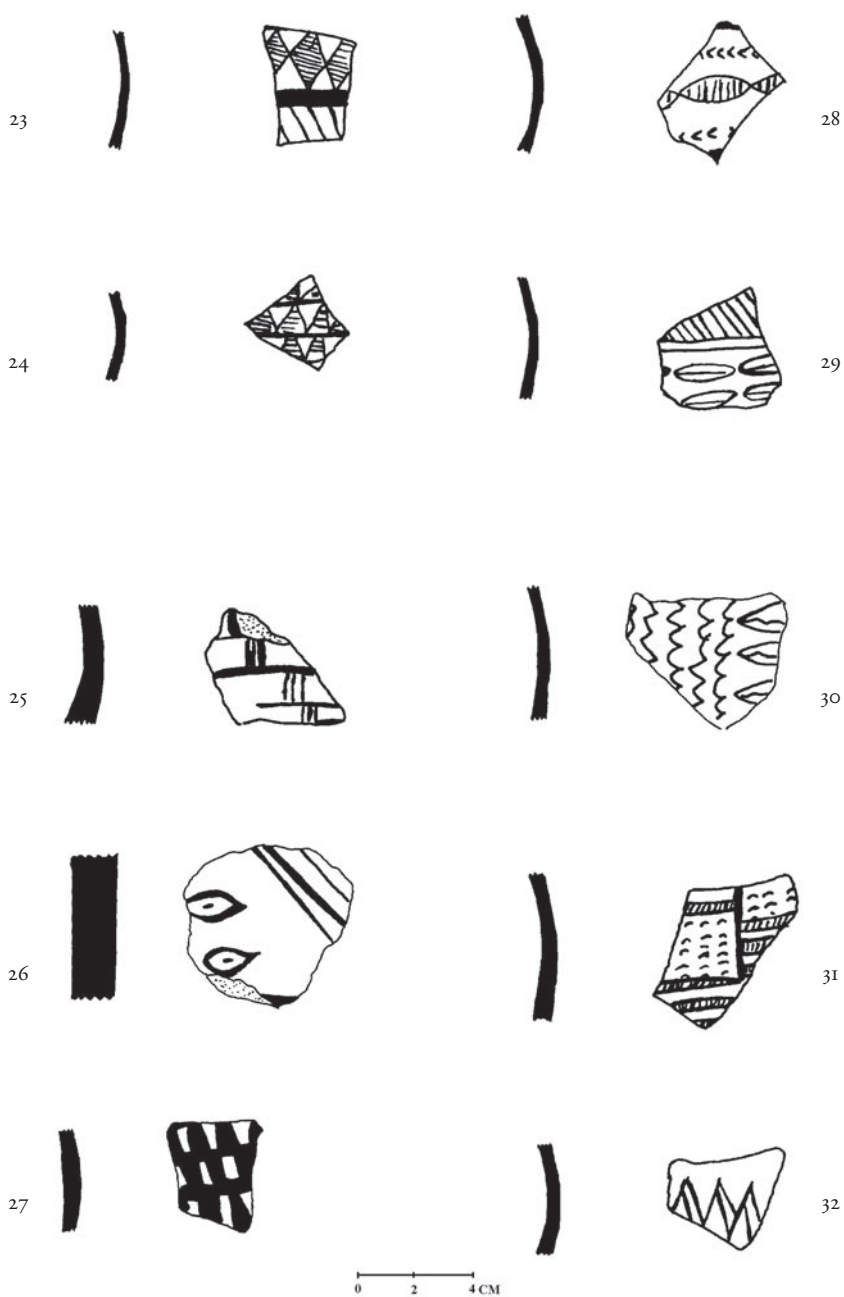


Figure 5 Cheshmeh-Ali type ceramics at Zagheh 2001 excavations

Table 10 Comparison of motifs of Cheshmeh-Ali type to those found in the 1970s excavation at Zagheh, re-excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali and to Period II at Sialk

Illustration No.	Motif	Malek Shahmirzadi (1977a)	Fazeli (2001)	Ghirshman (1938)
16	Goat with notched horns	Plate X no. 13	p327 no. 28	Pl. XLVIII D8 Pl. XLVII B11
18	Floral	Fig. 72 no.21		
5	Zigzags	Fig. 70 no. 2		
11	Dots with band at rim	Plate X no.7, fig. 70 no.7		
28	Vertical hatched ovals	Plate VIII no.10		
29	Ovals with a dividing horizontal line in the middle	Plate V no.8		
32	Triangles with an overlapping edge on the left side and a double line on the right side		p326 no. 21	Pl. XLVIII A14
23, 20	Horizontal hatched diamonds	Plate V nos. 13, 15		Pl. XLVIII A18
4	Vertical loops	Plate IX no.8		
21	Crossed hatched triangles	Plate V no.14		
22	Ovals in chains	Plate XI no.12		
26	Brickwork#	Plate IV no. 82		
12	Loops on pendants#	Fig. 70 no.11, Plate III no. 7, Plate VII no.18		

#These motifs are typical of Painted Zagheh type

The importance of the new findings lies in the distribution of the Cheshmeh Ali type rather than differences in typologies. Both Zagheh and Cheshmeh-Ali types of pottery described by Malek Shahmirzadi have been found in all levels instead of only the upper levels.⁴⁷ In total, 8229 pottery sherds have been recovered from the five main trenches. The distribution is as follows:

Table 11 Percentage of each ceramic type found at the Zagheh excavation 2001

	Simple Zagheh type	Painted Zagheh type	Crusted type	Cheshmeh-Ali
Number of sherds	2942	1626	2537	1124
Percentage of total	35.7%	19.8%	30.8%	13.7%

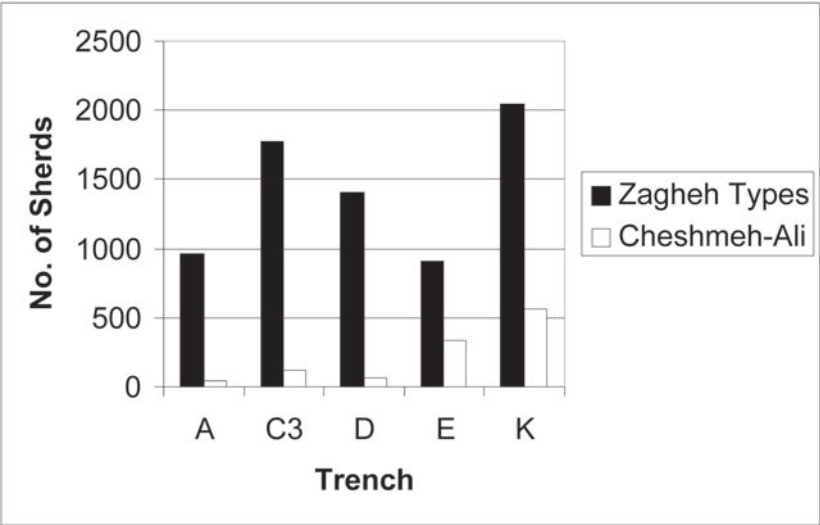
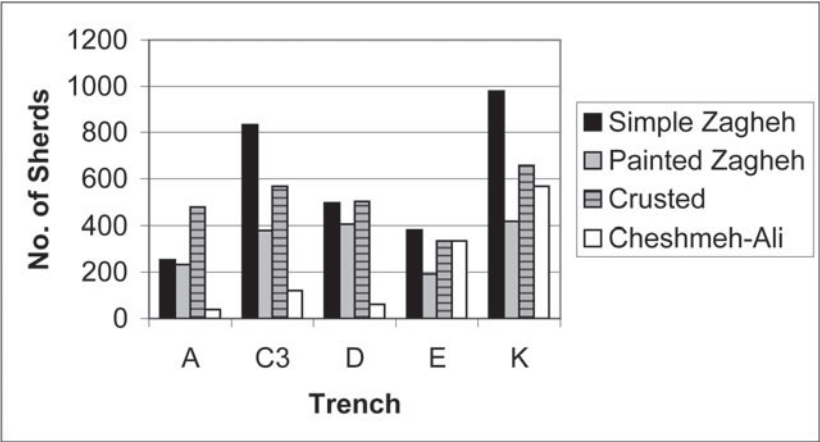
The distributions of types and numbers in the individual trenches are as follows:

Table 12 Distribution of ceramic types in the individual trench

Trench No.	Simple Zagheh	Painted Zagheh	Crusted	Cheshmeh-Ali	Total
A	253 (25.3%)	233 (23.2%)	477 (47.6%)	39 (3.9%)	1002
C ₃	833 ((43.8%)	380 (20.0%)	567 (29.8%)	121 (6.4%)	1901
D	496 ((33.9%)	406 (27.7%)	501 (34.2%)	61 (4.2%)	1464
E	382 (30.7%)	192 (15.5%)	335 (26.9%)	335 (26.9%)	1244
K	978 (37.4%)	415 (15.8%)	657 (25.1%)	568 (21.7%)	2618
Total	2942	1626	2537	1124	8229

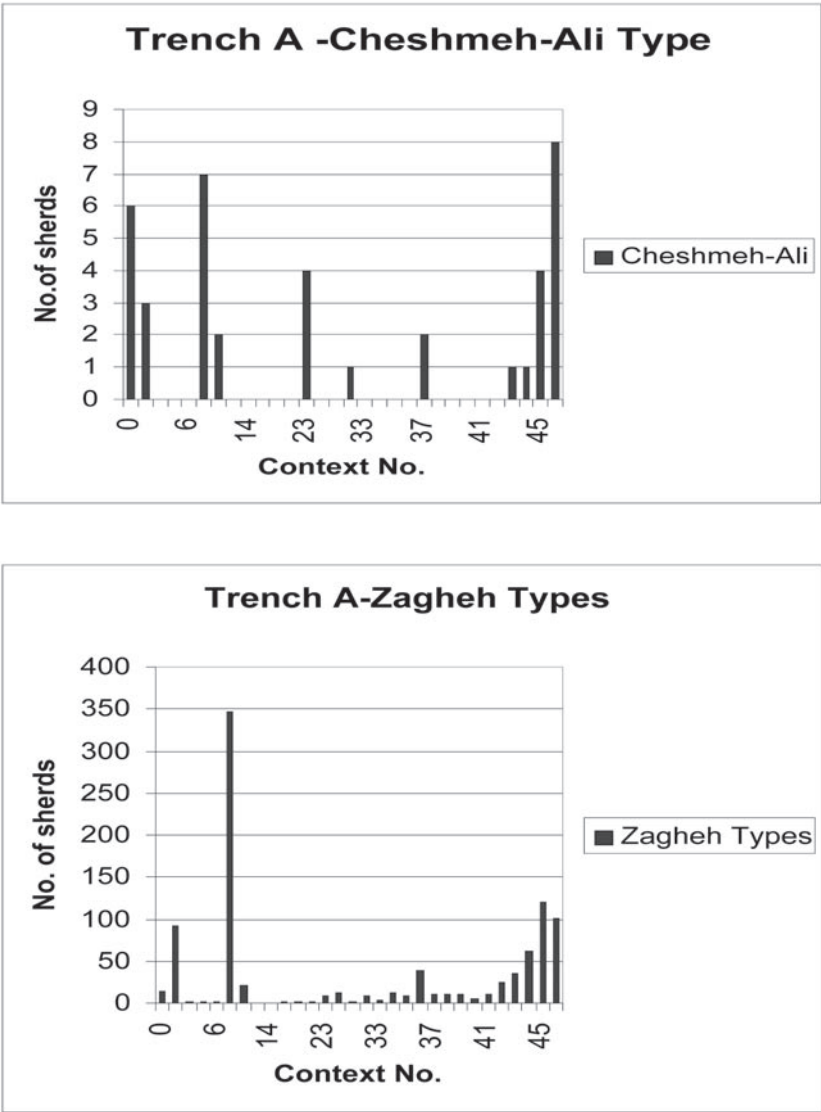
It can be seen that Cheshmeh-Ali type is comparatively low in percentage and that the occurrence is irregular across the layers in each of the trenches and from trench to trench. For example, although Trench D is only 10 metres from Trench E, there is a significant difference in the number of Cheshmeh-Ali sherds being recovered. This probably accounts for the non-recovery of Cheshmeh-Ali type in the lower layers of the small deep trench in the 1970s excavation.

⁴⁷ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, pp. 272–327.

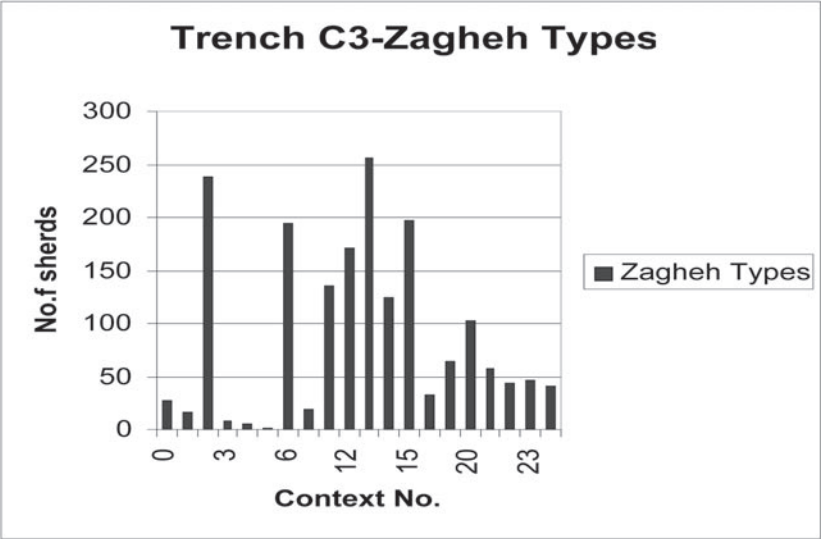
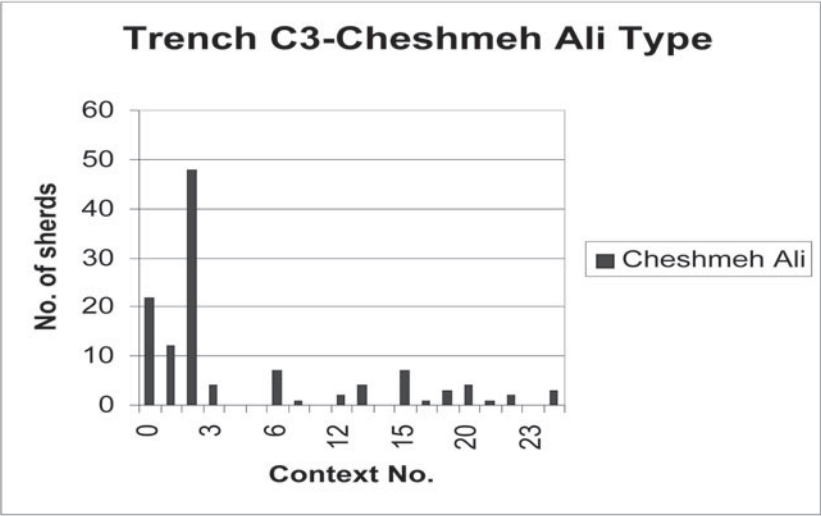


Figures 6a and b Distribution of the main ceramic types in the individual trenches

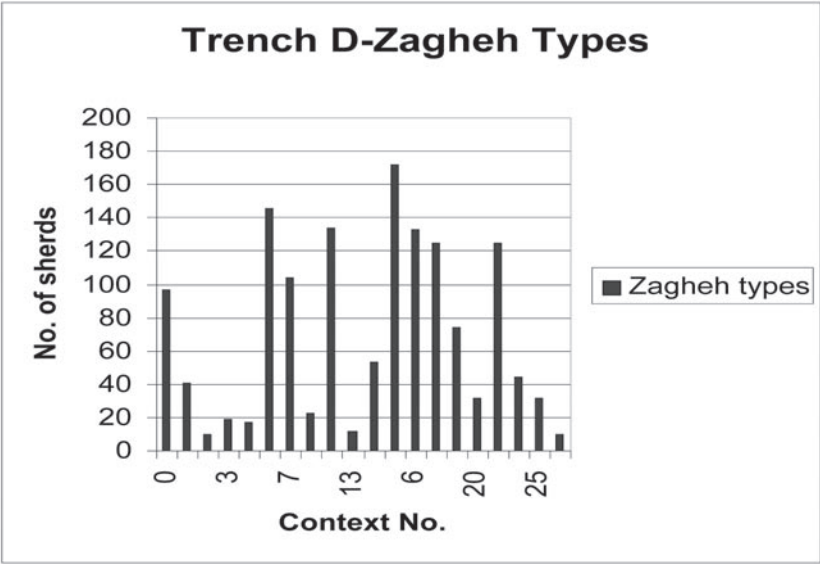
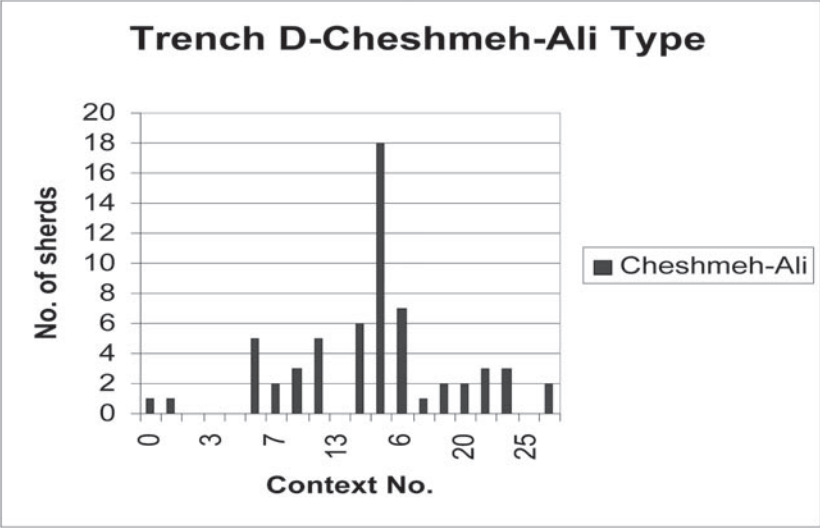
The distributions of types in each context layer of the five trenches are shown in the following figures:



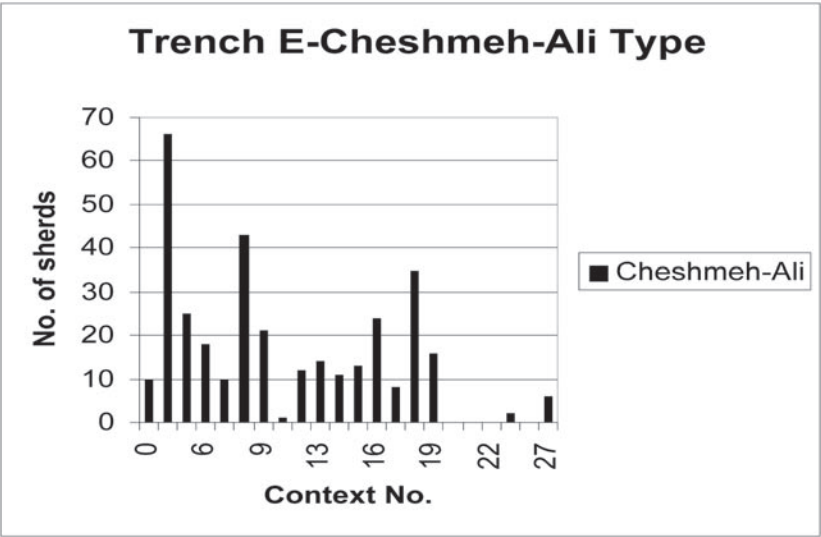
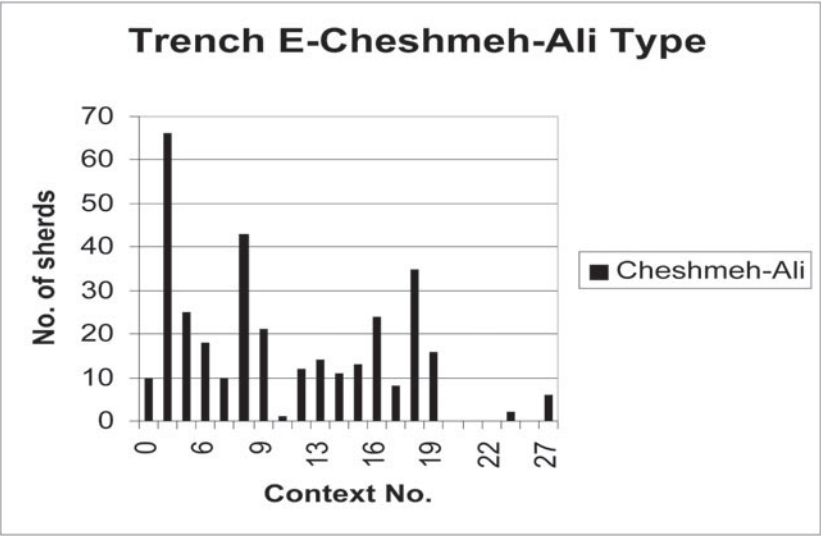
Figures 7a and b Distribution of ceramic types in the contexts of Trench A



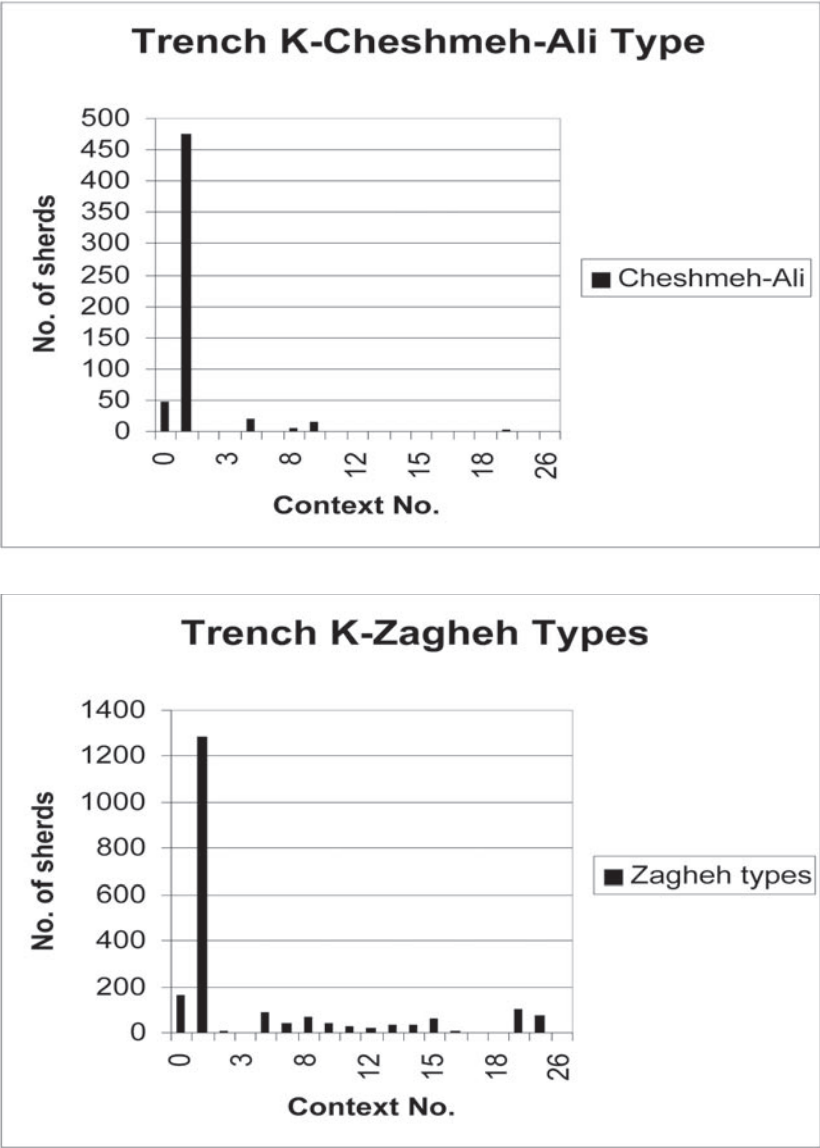
Figures 8a and b Distribution of ceramic types in the contexts of Trench C3



Figures 9a and b Distribution of ceramic types in the contexts of Trench D



Figures 10a and b Distribution of ceramic types in the contexts of Trench E



Figures 11a and b Distribution of ceramic types in the contexts of Trench K

The contemporaneity of the Cheshmeh-Ali type and the Zagheh types has important implications. Majidzadeh attributed the lower levels of Zagheh to the Archaic Plateau (Neolithic) period and the upper levels to Early Plateau (Transitional Chalcolithic) period based on the occurrence of Cheshmeh-Ali type.⁴⁸ The new ceramic evidence suggests that the site may have been a Transitional Chalcolithic period site with the co-existence of Cheshmeh-Ali and Zagheh types at all levels. In fact, there is little change in the technological production of the ceramics and forms from the lower levels to the upper levels in all ceramic types. While parallels exist between Cheshmeh-Ali type ceramics at Zagheh and those from Transitional Chalcolithic levels at the re-excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali 1997, there is no ceramic at Zagheh that corresponds to the Late Neolithic ceramics found at Cheshmeh-Ali. On both production and typological bases, it can be concluded that Zagheh was a Transitional Chalcolithic site with no Late Neolithic material. Voigt and Dyson have noted that there are “significant changes” with “more complex painted designs” in the later Painted Zagheh ware.⁴⁹ This is to be expected as the settlement of Zagheh spanned nearly a thousand years and it can also be attributed to the more extensive exposure of the site in the upper levels in the 1970s excavation.

The coexistence of the types throughout the occupation levels suggests that the technology for the production of the fine Cheshmeh-Ali ceramics was available at the same time as the coarser, and hence previously thought less advanced, Zagheh types. Therefore, the production of the different types of fabric was most likely related to utilitarian and functional requirement. While Malek Shahmirzadi suggested that either the raw material of finished product was imported from Cheshmeh-Ali, recent petrographic study by Fazeli and Djamali has shown that the clay could have been of local origin.⁵⁰ Therefore, the ceramics were likely to be made locally and not imported from a production centre such as Cheshmeh-Ali.

Radiocarbon dating

The contexts and results of the radiocarbon determinations taken from Trench A at Zagheh are presented in **Table 13** and **Figure 12**.

⁴⁸ Majidzadeh 1981.

⁴⁹ Voigt and Dyson 1992, p. 166.

⁵⁰ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, p. 281; Fazeli and Djamali 2002.

Table 13 Radiocarbon determinations from the excavation of Trench A, Zagheh 2001

Sample No.	Lab. No.	Sample type	Context No.	Depth below surface (cm)	Context description	Security of context and possibility of bioturbation	Result (bp)	Calibrated. 95.4% probability. (BC)
ZHo1	WK12854	Carbon particles	1	2	Skeleton, stone tools, mudbricks and animal bones. Context likely to be contaminated and/or disturbed.	Immediately sub-surface. Possibility of disturbance and contamination	6154+/-49	5260–4949
ZHo2	WK12855	Carbon particles	7	44	Architectural features — walls, floor	Good	5489+/-45	4460–4240
ZHo3	WK12856	Carbon particles	11	50	Spindle whorls, copper and stone tools	Good	5936+/-69	5000–4610
ZHo4	WK12857	Carbon particles	16	95	Sand floor	Good	6152+/-46	5260–4940
ZHo5	WK12858	Carbon particles	17	111	Oven	Good	6124+/-46	5260–4850
ZHo6	WK12859	Carbon particles	35	140	Ash layer	Good	5991+/-65	5050–4710
ZHo7	WK12860	Carbon particles	38	170	Ash layer	Good	6233+/-48	5310–5050
ZHo8	WK12861	Carbon particles	45	255	Ash layer under collapsed wall	Good	6169+/-78	5310–4850
ZHo9	WK12862	Carbon particles	45	305	Unsealed ash pit	Equivocal	6410+/-50	5480–5300
ZHo10	WK12863	Carbon particles	47	460	Large broken storage jar, just above the virgin soil layer	Good	6295+/-47	5370–5070

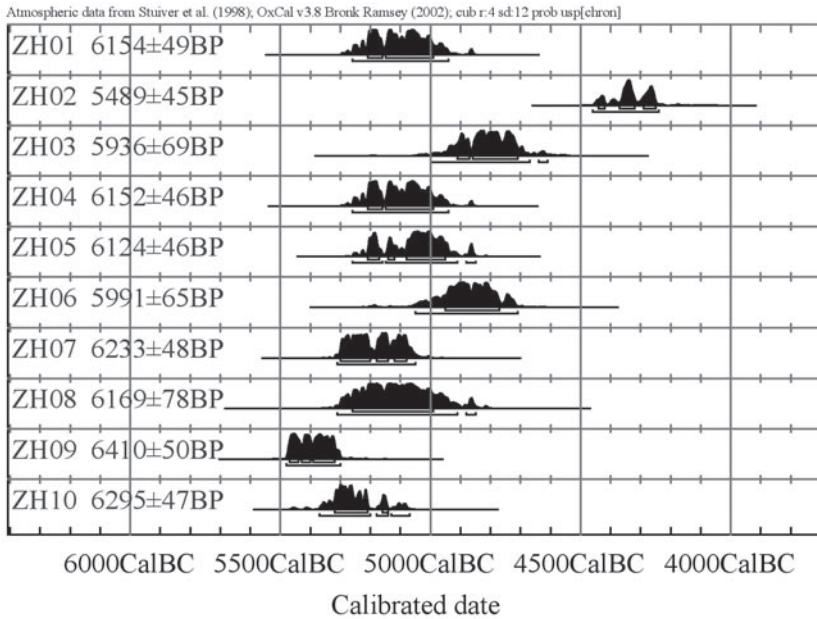


Figure 12 Radiocarbon date ranges from the excavation of Trench A at Zagheh, 2001

There are obvious discrepancies in the dates obtained in the Zagheh sequence, in particular, samples ZH01, ZH06, ZH09 and/or ZH10. If ZH10 is discounted for the time being, both ZH01 and ZH09 return older than expected readings, while ZH06 has a more problematic younger than expected determination. The context from which ZH01 was taken was only 2 cm from the ground surface and was associated with a burial. Therefore, it may have been disturbed or contaminated by surface minerals, which can result in fallaciously high radiocarbon age.⁵¹ ZH09 was taken from an unsealed ash pit. The 'old wood' phenomenon may account for the apparent old date as well as possible disturbance and contamination during the formation of the pit, for example, material from a lower layer may have been mixed in during the fill.

On the other hand, if ZH09 is considered as an accurate reflection of the context layer from which it was taken, then the result of ZH10, as that of ZH06, appears to be younger than expected. The problem may be a result of bioturbation, contamination by modern roots or earth, inappro-

⁵¹ Renfrew and Bahn 1996, p. 136.

priate handling, such as contact with paper products or fibres, laboratory error in preparation or analysis, error in stratigraphic interpretation and intrusion from upper layer(s).⁵²

One of the questions to be addressed in the re-excavation of Zagheh is the time span of the settlement. The discrepancies of the radiocarbon estimation necessarily mean that a conservative estimate has to be made, namely, the result of sample ZHo1 has to be disregarded for the estimation of the abandonment of the settlement, since it is likely to be a contaminated sample. Likewise, the younger date of ZHo10 should be accepted in favour of the older date of ZHo9 since the degree of security of the deposit in an unsealed pit is open to question. The discrepancy of the result of ZHo6 remains unresolved although a number of factors, as outlined above, may have been responsible. However, it does not unduly affect the estimation of the time span of the site's occupation. On the radiocarbon dating evidence, Zagheh was settled around 5370–5070 BC and abandoned around 4460–4240 BC.

ii *Re-excavation of Ghabristan 2002*

In the first season eleven trenches have been opened. Six trenches have been exposed in the northern, southern and western areas of the mound and a further five in the central region of the previously excavated area (Fig. 13). Trenches in the northern and western sections contain natural clay deposits and graves dated to the first millennium BC. The two trenches in the south reveal only late Chalcolithic materials, consisting mostly of the remains of a kiln and finds related to craft production. Only the five trenches in the central area cover the three main phases of Early, Middle and Late Chalcolithic periods. The excavated areas so far appear to be industrial areas.

Evidence from Trench L34 (Fig. 14) from which seven radiocarbon samples have been taken provides the main information for this paper. The size of Trench L34 was 2 × 5 metres at the surface and reduced to 2 × 2 metres at the depth of 2 metres. At the base where virgin soil was reached the area was 4 square metres and measured 5.3 metres from the ground surface. Eighteen layers and twenty-nine contexts have been identified. Illegal excavations disturbed the two uppermost layers, and parts of a skeleton were found at context 3. The first undisturbed layer was at context 5, at a depth of 113 cm. A pit containing bone needles, stone tools and flakes, fragments

⁵² Aitken 1990: 86–7, Bowman 1990: 27–8.

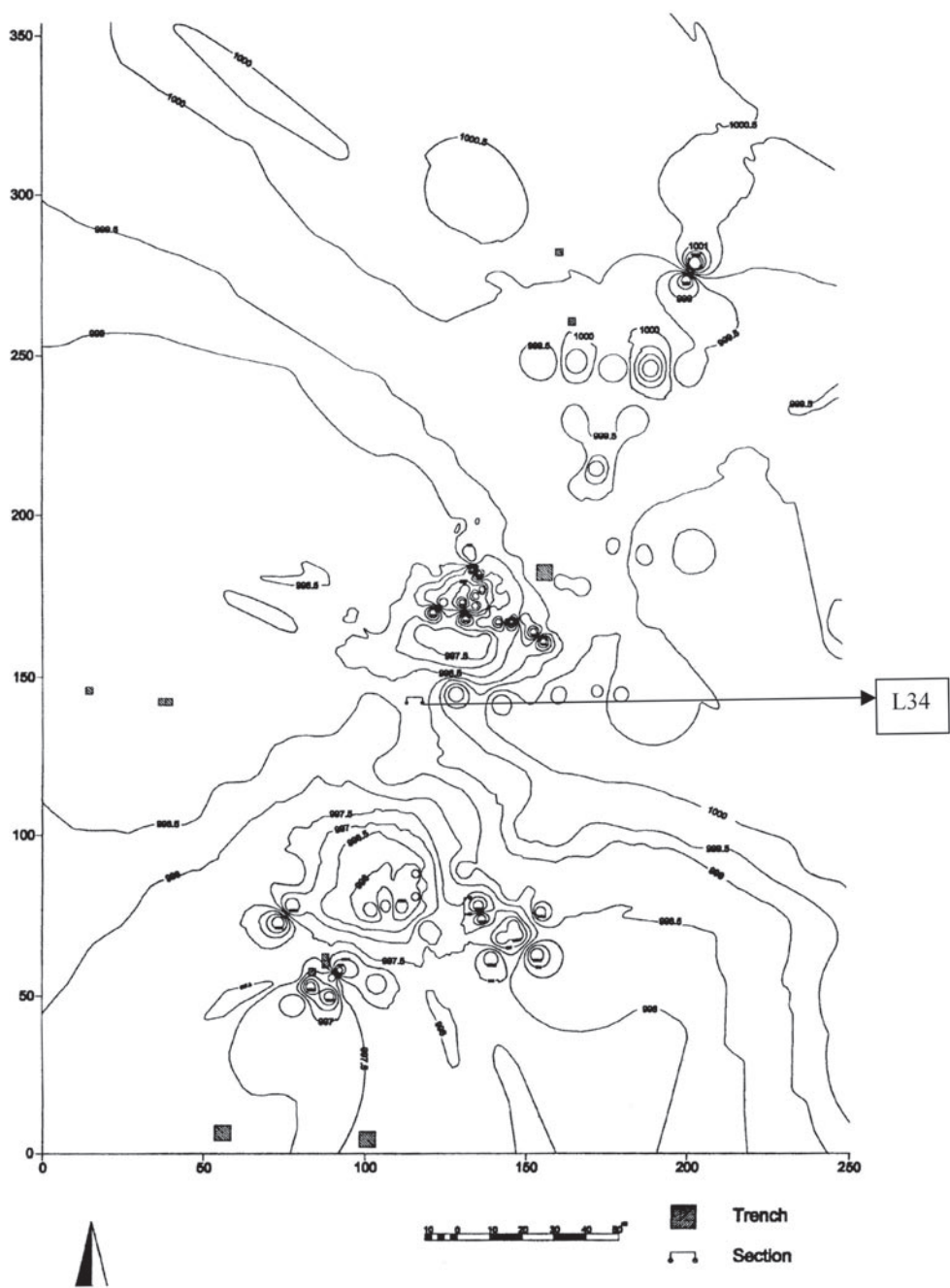


Figure 13 Location of trenches at Ghabristan excavation, 2002

of figurines and round clay objects were located at context 8. A further pit was located at context 11 where stone and copper tools, slag and a microblade were found. Subsequent contexts contained walls, floors and ovens.

Table 14 Context description of trench L34 at Ghabristan

Context No.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion	Comments
1	layer	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	hard	90% mud 10% sand	pottery	Disturbed layer
2	layer	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	hard	90% mud 10% sand	pottery bone	Disturbed layer
3	skeleton					
4	pit (ash)	light grey 10YR 7/2	loose	60% ash 20% charcoal 20% gypsum	pottery bone	Located at NE corner of trench
5	layer	pale brown 10YR 6/3	hard	90% mud 10% sand	pottery bone	First undisturbed layer Depth 113cm
6	Oven	brownish yellow 10YR 6/8	hard	100% mud	nil	
7	Inside oven					r/carbon sample taken
8	pit	grey 10YR 6/1	loose	90% ash 10% mud	pottery bone stone tools broken figurines	special finds — bone needle, bone tools, 3 fragments of figurine, rounded clay objects r/carbon sample taken
9	layer	pale brown 10YR 6/3	loose	80% ash 20% mud	pottery bone	
10	layer	light grey 10YR 7/1	loose	90% ash 5% sand/grit	pottery bone	pit

Context No.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion	Comments
		10YR 7/1		15% sand/grit 5% charcoal	bone	copper tools, slag, microblade, 5 charcoal samples taken for radiocarbon analysis
12	layer	light grey 10YR 7/1	loose	60% ash 40% ash & charcoal	pottery bone	radiocarbon sample taken
13	layer	pale yellow 5Y 7/4	loose	100% ash	pottery bone	pit
14	layer	pale brown 10YR 6/3	loose	ash clay	pottery bone charcoal	layer under pit 14–40 cm thick radiocarbon sample taken
15	layer	pale brown 10YR 6/3	loose	100% ash	pottery bone charcoal	finds — stone tools
16	layer	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4	loose	95% sand 5% clay & ash	charcoal	
17	wall	brownish yellow 10YR 6/6	hard			collapsed wall
18	wall	very pale brown 10YR 7/4				
19	wall	light yellowish brown 10YR 6/4				
20	floor	light grey 10YR 7/2	hard	100% mud		
21	oven					

Context No.	Feature	Colour	Texture	Composition	Inclusion	Comments
22	feature within oven					
23	layer		loose	95% ash 5% sand/grit	pottery bone charcoal	dark layer of ash — lens within layer 17
24	layer	light grey 10YR 7/2	loose	ash	pottery bone charcoal	thickness — 2–10 cm radiocarbon sample taken
25	layer	very dark grey 10YR 3/1		ash		ash layer
26	oven					
27	feature within oven					
28	layer	very pale brown 10YR 7/4			pottery bone	radiocarbon sample taken
29	layer	very pale brown 10YR 8/2			pottery bone	
	virgin soil					cooper slag, ivory fragment, agate and copper pin — most likely to be intrusion upper layers

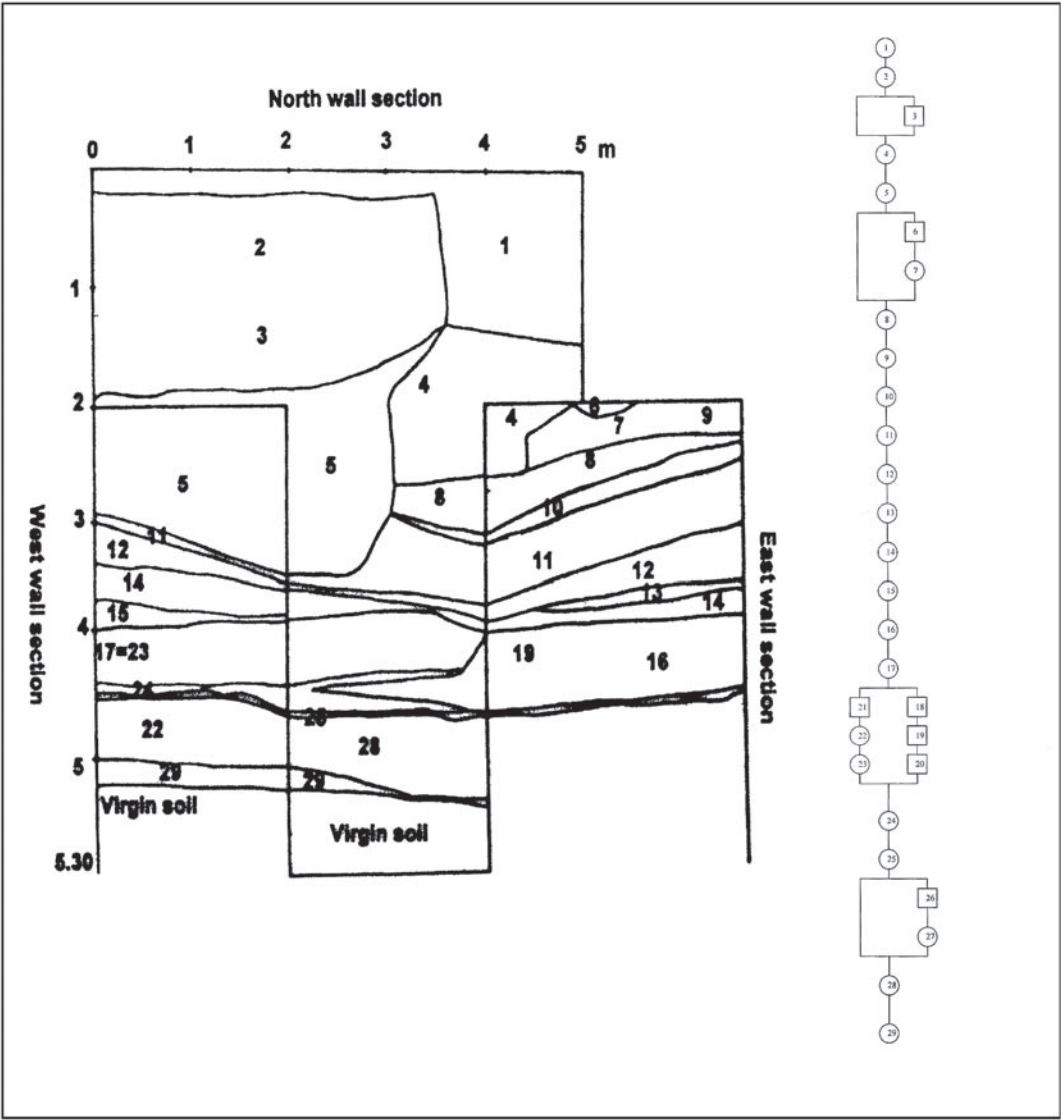


Figure 14 Stratigraphic sequence and Harris Matrix of Trench L34 at Ghabristan

Ceramics

This trench covers the three phases of the Chalcolithic period — Early, Middle and Late. Since the two uppermost layers have been disturbed by illegal excavations the Late Chalcolithic level is represented by context 5 only.

I *Early Chalcolithic period* (Figs 15–17)

In Trench L34 of Ghabristan this period is represented by contexts 29 to 14. The early phase of the period (context 29) is characterised by fine, thin-walled painted ceramics with well levigated clay and grit temper and ceramics with thicker walls and temper of both organic and inorganic materials containing large white inclusions. Forms are limited to open bowls with straight and concave walls, simple tapered rim and flat base, beaker and cup with small thick base. Both surfaces are well slipped and burnished and all were well fired. The surface colour is predominantly red and many sherds are within a narrow range of colour hue (10R 5/6–5/8). The colours of the decoration range from black to light gray. Motifs are limited to columns of free hand drawn chevrons with curving ends, thickly hatched bands and thin band decoration at the lip of the vessel which may extend to the interior surface. The distinctive curve ended chevron column is a typical design of this period in the north Central Plateau. This type of ceramics has been found in other sites of the north central Iran such as the upper layers of Cheshmeh-Ali, Morteza Gerd, Sialk III1–2 and Kara Tepe, Sharyar and has been classified by Majidzadeh as Plum Ware phase A.⁵³

Ceramics in subsequent contexts (contexts 28–14) show a decrease in the fine grit tempered ceramics along with the appearance of a coarser fabric ceramic characterized by thicker walls, temper consisting of both organic and inorganic materials and thick slips of red to purplish plum colour (2.5YR 4/4, 3/3) on both surfaces. The slip was often poorly applied and the ceramics were occasionally inadequately fired as seen from the presence of gray cores in some of the sherds. The decoration is in black with limited motifs painted by free hand, consisting of parallel zigzags, curved ended chevrons and hatched patterns, very much similar to the fine red fabric ceramics of context 29 (Fig. 16). This corresponds to Majidzadeh's Plum Ware phase C where the slip was distinctly plum-coloured.⁵⁴ In view of the

⁵³ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 29–30, 32–5.

⁵⁴ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 37–9.

differences in temper and slip colour and application, Plum Ware phase C and Plum Ware phase A are different on technological and productional criteria and should not be considered as the same ware despite the similarity in decoration motif. A new method of decoration also appeared in this phase, the applied/incised decoration at the rim of the coarse ware, as described by Majidzadeh.⁵⁵ This type of decorative technique has not been found elsewhere in the plateau except at Ozbaki⁵⁶ although parallels with Godin VII molded rim jars⁵⁷ can be drawn, and has also been cited by Voigt and Dyson.⁵⁸

In the late phase, new form includes globular jar with everted rim (Fig. 17: 6). Ceramics of fine fabric with surface colours ranging from cream, yellowish brown and red are present. The motifs painted in black for the red ceramics and brown for the buff/cream and yellowish-brown ceramics have more variety, such as composite geometric of filled triangles on rows of bands as well as hatched triangles and chevrons (Fig. 17: 1–2). The spiral plant, a common motif in the central plateau, began to appear in this phase (Fig. 17: 3).

Table 15 Description of sherds in Figure 15

Illustration No.	Context (sherd no.)	Temper	Firing	Texture of fabric	Surface of slip	Surface colour	Thickness (cm)
1	29(1)	inorganic	well	fine	both	10R5/8 red	0.9
2	29(3)	both	well	fine	both	10R8/4 pink	0.6
3	29(13)	both	well	fine	both	2.5YR5/8 red	0.4
4	29(9)	both	well	fine	both	10R5/6 red	0.4
5	29(25)	inorganic	well	fine	both	10R5/6 red	0.4
6	29(4)	both	well	fine	both	10YR5/6 red	0.5

⁵⁵ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 41–2.

⁵⁶ Majidzadeh 2001, pp. 141–5.

⁵⁷ Young and Levine 1974, fig. 15: 1–5, 7.

⁵⁸ Voigt and Dyson 1992, p. 161.

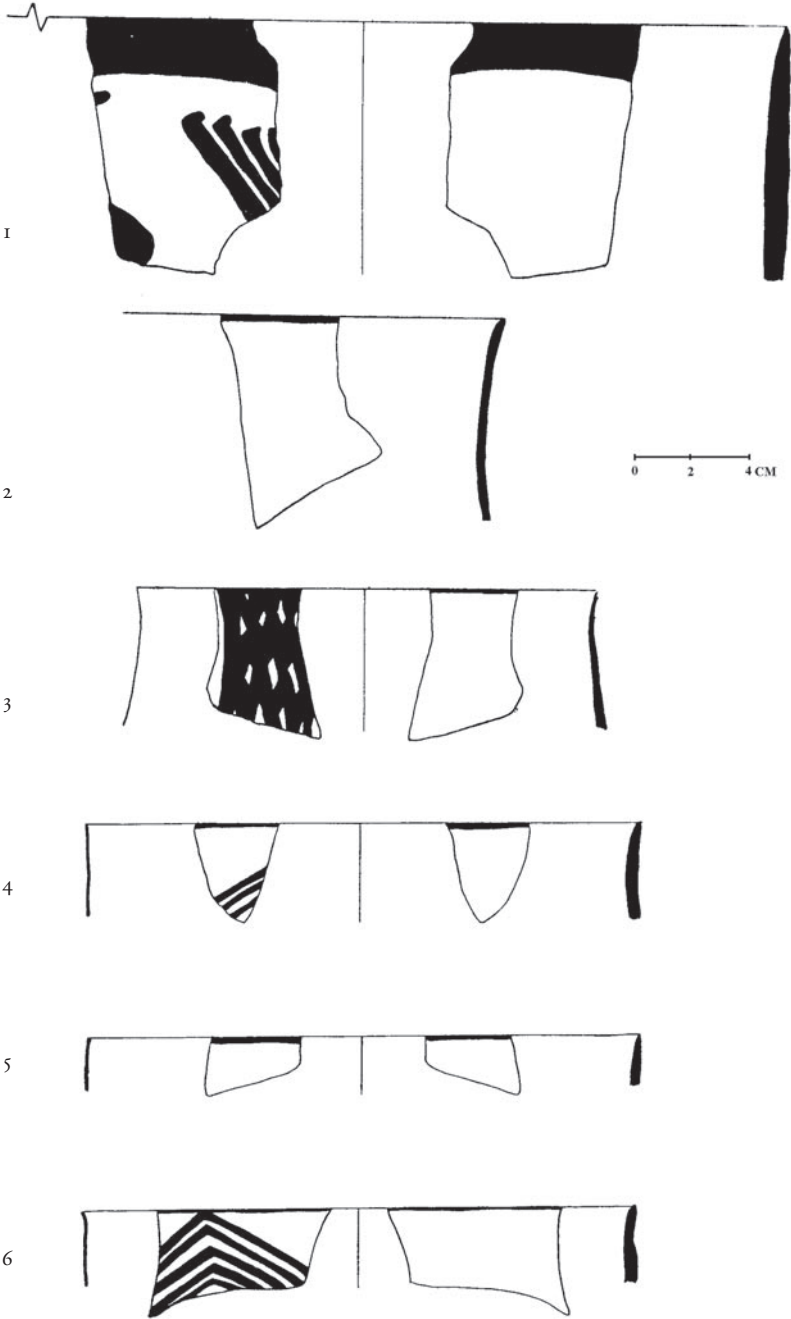


Figure 15 Sherds from context 29, Trench L34 at Ghabristan (Early Chalcolithic)

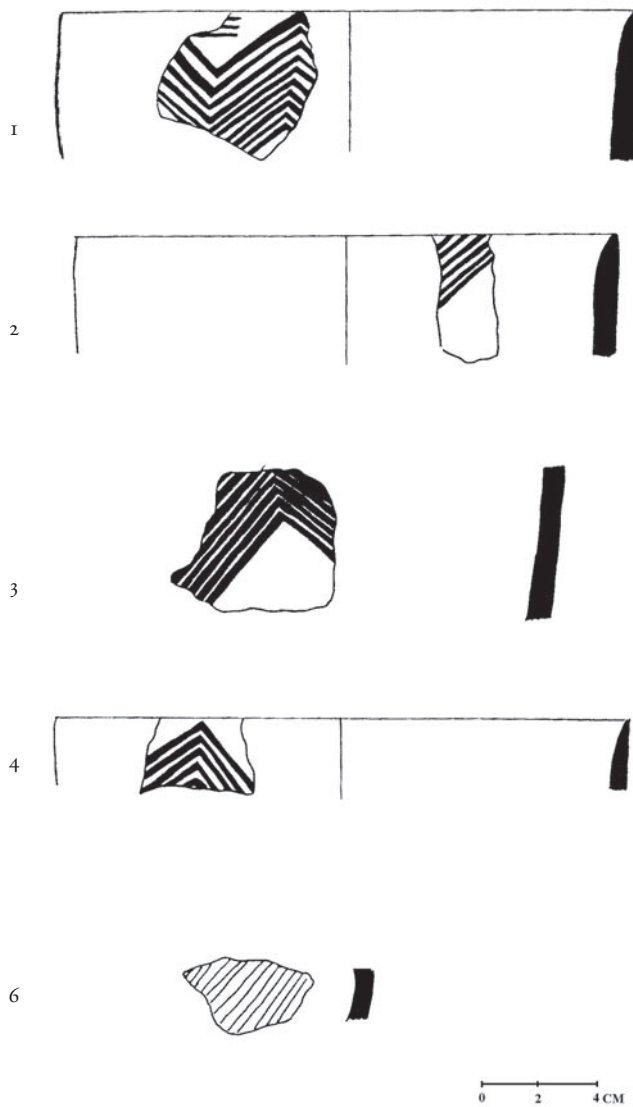


Figure 16 Plum slipped ceramics of the Early Chalcolithic period in Ghabristan Trench L34

Table 16 Description of sherds in Figure 16

Illustration No.	Context (sherd no.)	Temper	Firing	Texture of fabric	Surface of slip	Surface colour	Thickness (cm)
1	25(5)	both	adequate	coarse	both	2.5YR4/4 reddish brown	0.9
2	25(4)	both	adequate	medium	both	10R4/4 weak red	0.9
3	28(13)	organic	well	fine	both	2.5YR4/4 reddish brown	1.5
4	25(9)	both	adequate	medium	both	5YR5/2 reddish grey	0.7
5	24(2)	both	well	fine	both	2.5YR4/3 reddish brown	0.7



Figure 17 Late phase of the Early Chalcolithic period in Ghabristan Trench L34, context 14

Table 17 Description of sherds in Figure 17

Illustration No.	Context (sherd no.)	Temper	Firing	Texture of fabric	Surface of slip	Surface colour	Thickness (cm)
1	14(4)	both	well	fine	both	5YR6/6 reddish yellow	0.5
2	14(21)	organic	inadequate	medium	both	10YR5/6 red	0.8
3	14(1)	inorganic	well	fine	both	5YR5/6 yellowish red	0.7
4	14(20)	organic	well	medium	both	2.5YR4/6 reddish brown	1
5	14(14)	both	well	medium	both	2.5YR4/4 reddish brown	1
6	14(17)	organic	well	fine	both	10YR8/2 very pale brown	0.6

II *Middle Chalcolithic period* (Figs. 18 and 19)

The Middle Chalcolithic period is characterised by both red and cream/buff fabric ceramics which have described in detail by Majidzadeh who classified the period as Ghabristan II.⁵⁹ Since Trench L34 has yielded only sherds, comments on characteristic forms of this period such as trumpet-base (footed) bowl are necessarily restricted. From the available data, forms include cups and open bowls with simple tapering lips, oblique and concave walls and flat and slightly concave base. All are slipped with matt surface. The surface colour ranges from reddish yellow (5YR6/8 to 7/6) to pale brown (10YR8/3 to 6/6). The temper of the ceramics with fine fabric is composed mainly of inorganic material such as grit and fine sand, and the clay is well levigated, whereas that of the coarse fabric, especially the thicker walled vessels, contains a higher proportion of organic material as well as inorganic inclusions. Most of the ceramics were well fired except the coarse thick walled vessels. There is an increased range of designs in this period which includes geometric motifs such as hatched bands, hourglasses, alternately inverted filled triangles, parallel wavy bands with vertical hatching, combs and unilateral “ladders” (Fig. 18: 14–24) and representational motifs such as animals, birds and plants (Fig. 18: 1–6). Spiral plants, both plain (Fig. 18: 9) and decorated (Fig. 18: 12–13) and goats with decoration between its horn and body (Fig. 18: 1) are characteristic of this period.

⁵⁹ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 42–9.



I



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



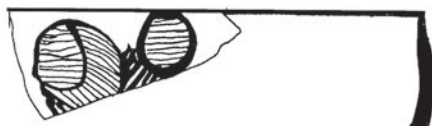
10



11



12



13

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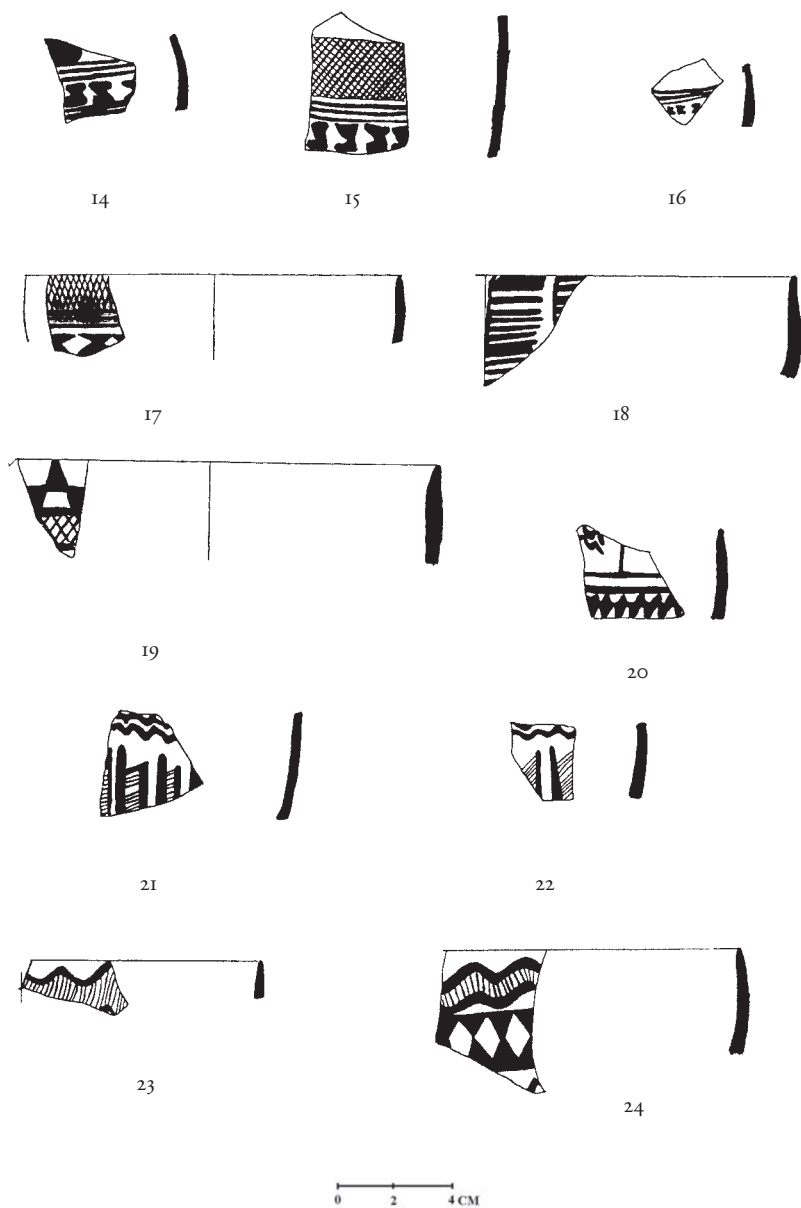


Figure 18 Ceramics of the Middle Chalcolithic Period in Ghabristan Trench L34

Almost all painted motifs find parallels in the Ghabristan II period as described by Majidzadeh (see **Table 19**). Human motifs described by Majidzadeh have not been found in this trench.⁶⁰ Many of the ceramics with fine fabric shows striation marks on the interior surface suggesting the possible use of potter's wheel.

Table 18 Description of sherds in Figure 18

Illustration No.	Context	Sherd No.	Temper	Firing	Texture of fabric	Surface of slip	Surface colour	Thickness (mm)	Sherd type
1	12	8	inorganic	well	fine	both	2.5YR8/3 pale yellow	6	body
2	12	24	inorganic	adequate	fine	both	10YR7/6 yellow	8	rim
3	12	36	inorganic	well	fine	both	2.5YR6/6 light red	6	body
4	13	24	inorganic	well	fine	both	5YR5/8 yellowish red	5	body
5	12	5	inorganic	well	fine	both	10YR8/2 very pale brown	7	rim
6	12	3	inorganic	well	fine	both	10YR6/6 brownish yellow	6	body
7	12	35	inorganic	well	fine	both	7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow	5	body
8	12	34	inorganic	well	fine	both	2.5YR6/6 light red	6	rim
9	12	2	inorganic	well	fine	both	2.5YR8/3 pale yellow	7	body
10	13	30	inorganic	well	fine	both	10YR8/3 very pale brown	6	body
11	13	26	inorganic	well	fine	both	7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow	5	body
12	12	16	inorganic	well	fine	both	5YR6/6 reddish yellow	4	rim
13	12	10	inorganic	well	fine	both	5YR6/6 reddish yellow	5	rim
14	12	11	inorganic	well	fine	both	10YR8/6 yellow	4	body
15	13	7	inorganic	well	fine	both	10YR6/6 brownish yellow	5	body

⁶⁰ Majidzadeh 1976, fig. 73: 1–2.

Illustration No.	Context	Sherd No.	Temper	Firing	Texture of fabric	Surface of slip	Surface colour	Thickness (mm)	Sherd type
16	12	13	inorganic	well	fine	both	2.5Y8/3 pale yellow	4	body
17	13	21	inorganic	well	fine	both	7.5YR6/4 light brown	5	rim
18	12	23	inorganic	adequate	fine	both	7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow	4	rim
19	13	29	inorganic	well	fine	both	7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow	7	rim
20	12	14	inorganic	well	fine	both	5YR6/6 reddish yellow	5	body
21	13	20	inorganic	well	fine	both	5YR6/8 reddish yellow	4	body
22	12	19	inorganic	well	fine	both	2.5YR5/6 red	4	body
23	12	4	both	adequate	fine	both	7.5YR6/6 reddish yellow	4	rim
24	12	6	inorganic	well	fine	both	7.5YR7/6 reddish yellow	5	rim

Table 19 Comparison of painted motifs in the ceramics of the Middle Chalcolithic period in Ghabristan

Illustration no. in Fig. 18	Motif description	Parallels to Ghabristan II (Majidzadeh 1976)	Parallels to Middle Chalcolithic sites in the Tehran plain (Fazeli 2001)
1	Goat with decoration between horns and body	Fig. 18 no.2 25 no.1 21 no.3	Appendix I no. 69 Fakrabad
2, 3, 4, 5	Birds in column	Fig. 17 no. 2 27 no.2	
9 10	Spiral plant	Fig. 23 no.2	Appendix I nos. 71, 75, 76 Chakmak Tepe
7, 8	Hatched butterfly	Fig. 21 no.2 24 no.2	
14, 15, 16	Hourglasses	Fig. 13 no.2	
18	Unilateral ladders	Fig.18 no.3	
19	Alternately inverted filled triangles on cross hatched band	Fig. 17 nos.5, 6	
21 22	Comb	Fig.16 no.9	Appendix I no. 71 Chakmak Tepe
23 24	Parallel lines bound by wavy bands,?snake	Fig.15 no.5 Fig.22 no.6	

Burnished Gray Ware thought to be restricted to Ghabristan by Majidzadeh⁶¹ has since been found in other sites such as Ismailabad in Qazvin in a recent survey and in Ozbaki in the Tehran plain.⁶² This is a handmade ceramic of dark gray to black fabric with a high proportion of organic material in the temper; it is slipped and highly burnished on both surfaces. It is either plain or decorated with incised motifs of parallel lines and diagonally or horizontally hatched alternating upright and inverted triangles with shared borders (Fig. 19).⁶³ Gray fabric sherds are present in small numbers in the lower levels of the Middle Chalcolithic period with steady increase through the period. They have been found in large numbers in the Late Chalcolithic layers in the other central trenches, although it is not adequately demonstrated in Trench L34 in which the Late Chalcolithic period is represented by only one context (context 5). However, there is a considerable increase in gray fabric sherds in the upper levels of the Middle Chalcolithic period (see table 21). Light brown fabric ceramics, which in all other respects are similar to the Gray Ware, including the incised decoration, have also been recovered. Majidzadeh mentioned this variety and considered it to be of the same ceramic tradition.⁶⁴ He attributed the occurrence of the Gray Ware to migration/invasion of new people from outside the Central Plateau.⁶⁵ However, the evidence of a very gradual introduction and increasing use of the ware through time tend to suggest an internal innovation rather than a sudden introduction by an unknown conquering people.

Table 20 Description of sherds in Figure 19

Illustration No	Context	Sherd No.	Temper	Firing	Texture of fabric	Surface of slip	Surface colour	Thickness (cm)	Sherd type
1	8	11	both	well	medium	both	2.5Y5/1 gray	0.7	body
2	8	20	both	adequate	medium	both	7.5YR7/4 pink	1	body
3	10,11	7	both	adequate	medium	exterior	black	0.9	body
4	8	5	both	adequate	medium	both	black	0.7	body
5	8	6	both	adequate	medium	both	black	0.8	body
6	8	7	both	adequate	medium	both	black	0.6	body
7	10,11	1	both	well	coarse	both	5Y 6/1 gray	1.3	base

⁶¹ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 50.

⁶² Majidzadeh 2001, p. 143.

⁶³ See also Majidzadeh 1976, fig 36.

⁶⁴ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 50.

⁶⁵ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 191–4; 1981.

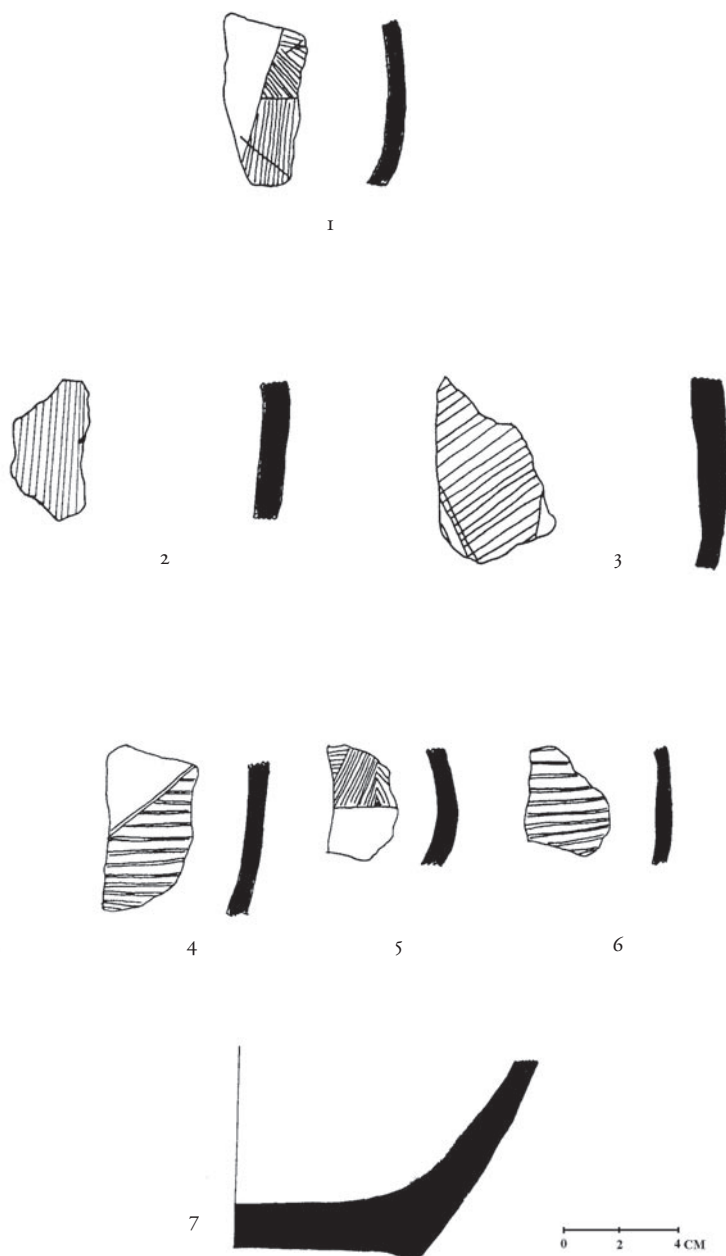


Figure 19 Ceramics with incised decoration in the Middle Chalcolithic period in Ghabristan Trench L₃₄

III. *Late Chalcolithic period*

The Late Chalcolithic period is represented only in context 5 in Trench L34 due to disturbance in the upper levels. Only undecorated and painted fine to medium fine buff fabric (2.5YR8/3 pale yellow) and gray fabric ceramics were found. Forms include cups and open bowls with concave and oblique walls, incurving and flared rims and flat base. The undecorated medium fine ceramics have only simple tapering rim. A thin wash is present on both surfaces. Temper consists mainly of inorganic material and the clay appears well levigated. Decoration is limited to filled circles and hatched diamonds on bands. Due to the limited number of painted diagnostic sherds, comparison to Majidzadeh's period IV motifs has not been made.

The distribution of ceramic by fabric colour (Table 21) shows that red fabric ceramics predominate in the Early Chalcolithic period to the mid Middle Chalcolithic period. Although some buff/light brown fabric ceramics are present in the early phase of the Early Chalcolithic period, there is a trend suggesting increasing presence in the Middle Chalcolithic period through to the Late Chalcolithic period. Likewise, there are an increasing number of gray fabric ceramic sherds being recovered in the latter periods.

The ceramics in Ghabristan represent the Early to Late Chalcolithic periods and do not show any transitional stages from the Zagheh types of ceramics in the lower levels. Hence, on the basis of relative ceramic chronology, there appears to be a gap between the abandonment of Zagheh and the occupation of Ghabristan.

From the productional perspective, the introduction of Plum Ware and Gray Ware need not be result of invasion/migration as proposed by Majidzadeh.⁶⁶ The early phase (Phase A) of Plum Ware as described by Majidzadeh is a continuation of the tradition of the north Central Plateau, since ceramic evidence in the 1997 excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali indicates a gradual introduction of this ceramic fabric, decoration and forms in this period and is, therefore, not necessarily attributable to external diffusion.⁶⁷

Plum slipped ceramics that occurred in the middle to late phases of the Early Chalcolithic period, which correspond to Phase C in Majidzadeh's classification, are dissimilar in slip colour, temper and manufacture techniques to the phase A Plum Ware and, therefore, should not be considered

⁶⁶ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 176–86, 191–5; 1981.

⁶⁷ Fazeli 2001, p. 44.

Table 21 Distribution of ceramics by fabric colour in Trench L34 at Ghabristan

Period	Context No.	Red	Buff/cream	Gray	Total no. of sherds
Late Chalcolithic	5	43 (17.3%)	138 (55.4%)	68 (27.3%)	249
Middle Chalcolithic	8	86 (30%)	31 (10.8%)	170 (59.2%)	287
	10&11	117 (49.8%)	9 (3.8%)	109 (46.4%)	235
	12	300 (87.4%)	28 (8.2%)	15 (4.4%)	343
	13	208 (80%)	42 (16.2%)	10 (3.8%)	260
		Total 711 (63.2%)	Total 110 (9.8%)	Total 304 (27%)	1125
Early Chalcolithic	14	153 (91.6%)	10 (6.0%)	4 (2.4%)	167
	15	36 (100%)	0	0	36
	24	54 (100%)	0	0	54
	25	118 (96.7%)	0	4 (3.3%)	122
	28	245 (98%)	5 (2%)	0	250
	29	178 (56.5%)	137 (43.5%)	0	315
		Total 784 (83.1%)	Total 152 (16.1%)	Total 8 (0.8%)	944
	Grand Total	1538	400	380	2318

as belonging to the same ware, although they share similar painted motifs. In particular, the curved ended chevrons are identical to those present on the phase A Plum Ware and those found in the upper levels of Cheshmeh-Ali and Mortezaگرد as recognised by Majidzadeh and confirmed in the re-excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali in 1997 by Fazeli.⁶⁸ However, as the plum-slipped ceramics of phase C were first found in small numbers in conjunction

⁶⁸ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 31; Fazeli 2001.

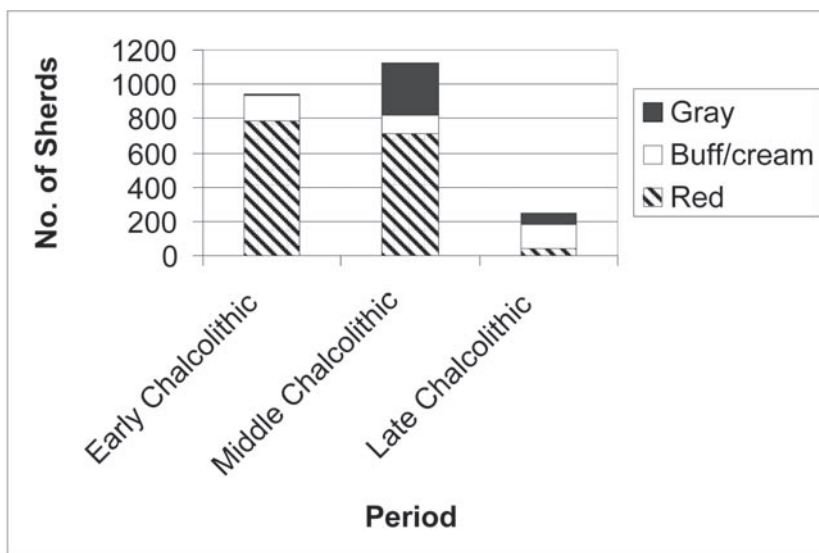


Figure 20a Distribution of ceramics by fabric colour in each period in Trench L₃₄ at Ghabristan

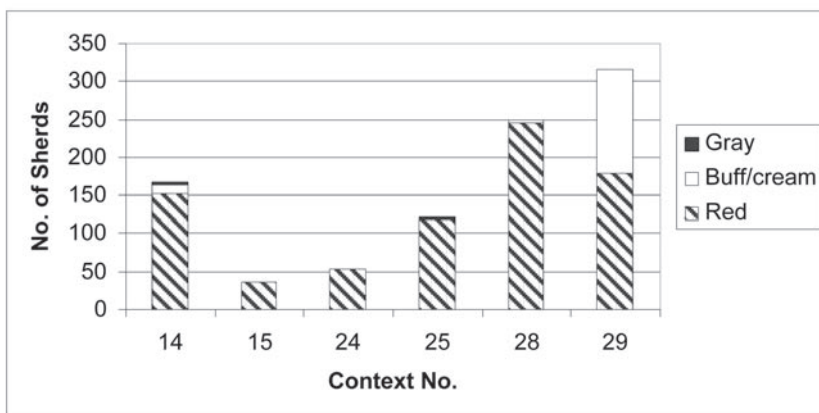


Figure 20b Distribution of ceramics by fabric colour in individual contexts in Early Chalcolithic period in Trench L₃₄ at Ghabristan

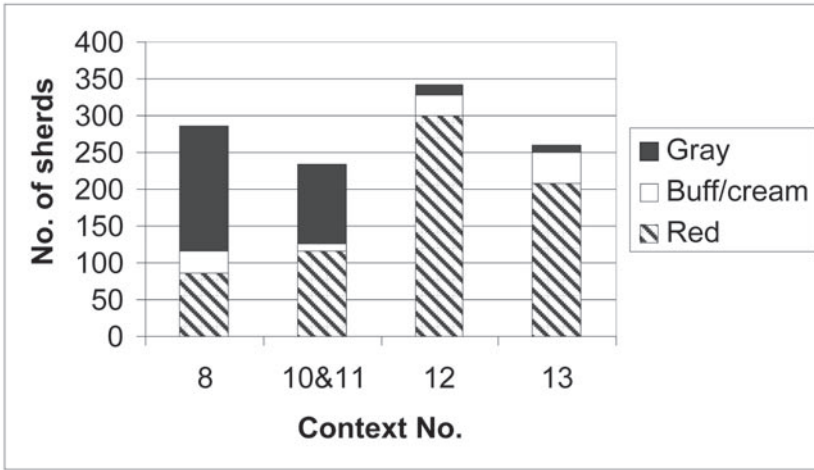


Figure 20c Distribution of ceramics by fabric colour in individual contexts in the Middle Chalcolithic period in Trench L34 at Ghabristan

with the fine red fabric ceramics (phase A Plum Ware) in context 28 of Trench L34 and increased in number in the later levels, it indicates a gradual internal development in the ceramic industry. The continual use of the same motifs further supports this hypothesis.

Similarly, in the case of the Gray Ware, it is seen to be present in small numbers in the early Mid Chalcolithic levels and increase in production in the later Middle Chalcolithic and the Late Chalcolithic levels. Therefore, Gray Ware should be seen as an innovation within the northwestern Central Plateau tradition rather than as a result from migration/invasion since it shows a gradual introduction and, more importantly, there is no parallel in both forms and decoration either in the Transcaucasian region or Mesopotamia in this or preceding period. On ceramic evidence the following correlation can be made:

Ghabristan I (Plum ware)	—————>	Early Chalcolithic
Ghabriatan II	—————>	Middle Chalcolithic
Ghabristan III (Gray Ware)	—————>	Middle — Late Chalcolithic
Ghabristan IV	—————>	Late Chalcolithic

The excavation at Ghabristan is a long-term project and the present result is only small part of the findings based on Trench L34 in the first season. As mentioned, the areas exposed so far have been attributed to the industrial sections of the site. Ceramic distribution is likely to be different

in the domestic context, which is a section of the site yet to be uncovered. The overall periodization, especially that of Majidzadeh's Ghabristan III, may require adjustment when the results of the remaining trenches are finalised.

Radiocarbon Dating

In contrast to the Zagheh samples, the results of the Ghabristan samples are consistent with the stratigraphic sequence (Table 22 and Fig. 21).

Table 22 Radiocarbon determinations from the excavation of Trench L34 at Ghabristan, 2002

Sample No.	Lab No.	Sample type	Depth (cm)	Context No.	Result (bp)	Cal. 95.4% probability. (BC)
GBo1	WK12847	Carbon particles	233	7	5045+/-61	3970–3700
GBo2	WK12848	Carbon particles	273	8	5041+/-44	3960–3710
GBo3	WK12849	Carbon particles	343	11	5140+/-68	4250–3700
GBo4	WK12850	Carbon particles	372	12	5071+/-83	4040–3660
GBo5	WK12851	Carbon particles	380	14	5188+/-46	4220–3800
GBo6	WK12852	Carbon particles	455	24	5310+/-47	4320–3990
GBo7	WK12853	Carbon particles	495	28	5475+/-45	4450–4220

However, since the ranges of calibrated dates of the samples vary from 550 years to 230 years, it would be desirable to narrow the range by using models that combine multiple related ^{14}C dates with associated chronological information to generate probability distribution for age estimation. Using the *Sequence* model, developed by Bronk Ramsey in his Oxcal v3.8 program, the following date ranges can be defined:⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Bronk Ramsey 2002.

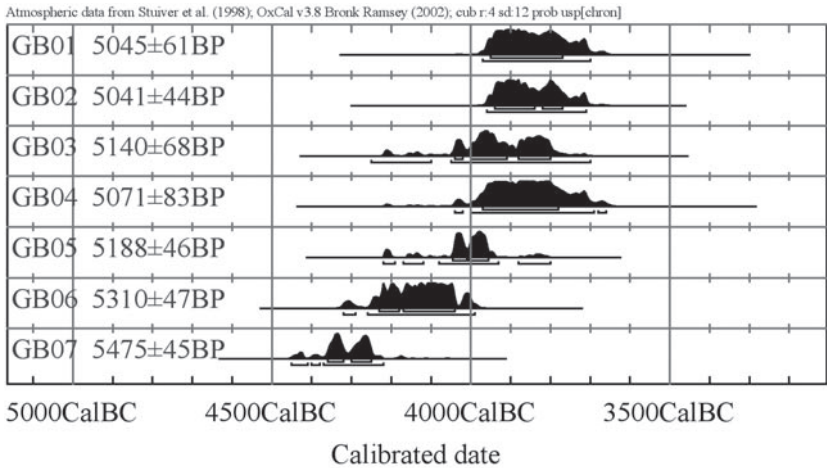


Figure 21 Radiocarbon date ranges from the excavation of Trench L34 at Ghabristan, 2002

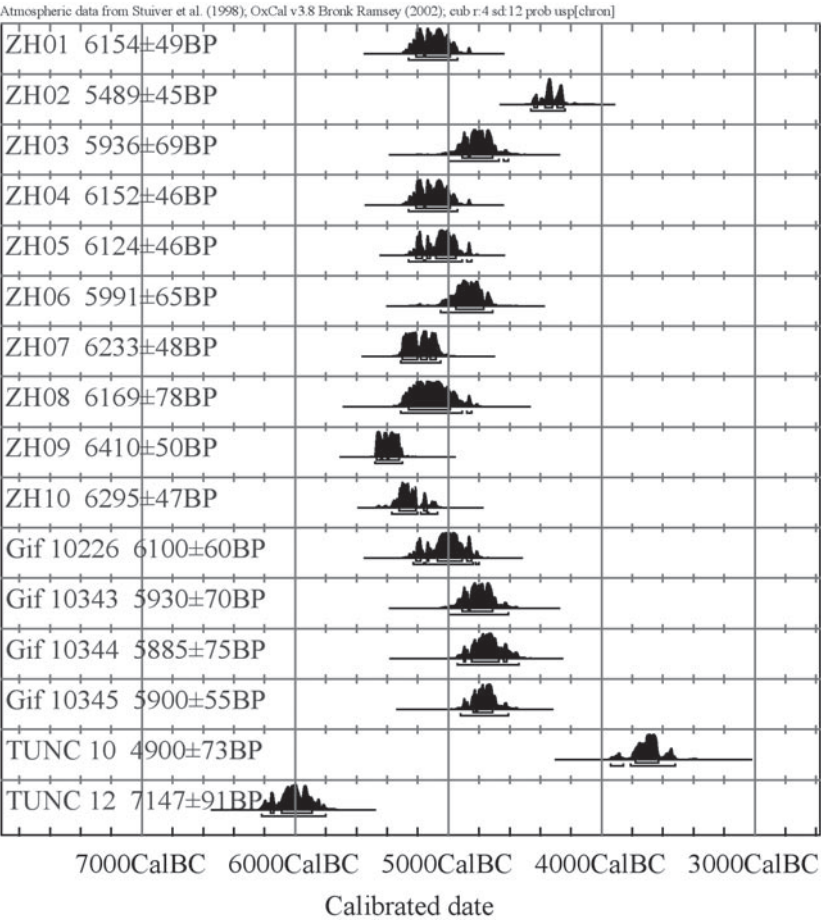
Table 23 Radiocarbon date ranges for Trench L34, Ghabristan

Sample No.	Lab No.	Context No.	Initial probability distribution 95.4% @ (2s). (cal BC)	Posterior probability distribution 95.4% @ (2s) (cal BC)	Agreement %
GB01	WK12847	7	3970–3700	3930–3700	97.0
GB02	WK12848	8	3960–3710	3950–3760	106.7
GB03	WK12849	11	4250–3700	3980–3800	107.3
GB04	WK12850	12	4040–3660	4040–3840	98.1
GB05	WK12851	14	4220–3800	4160–3940	113.9
GB06	WK12852	24	4320–3990	4260–4000	103.5
GB07	WK12853	28	4450–4220	4370–4160	96.7
Overall Agreement					108.5

The imposition of *Sequence* constraints results in some improvement in the precision of the calendar age distributions. The agreement calculations for this model for individual samples and the overall sequence are in excess of 95%, indicating a high degree of acceptability.

Summary and discussion of results on chronometric dating

The radiocarbon results suggest that the date range of the settlement of Zagheh is around 5370–5070 BC and that of abandonment is around 4460–4240 BC. This is in agreement with the radiocarbon date range of the Transitional Chalcolithic period of Cheshmeh-Ali in the Tehran plain. The unpublished radiocarbon date ranges for the Transitional Chalcolithic



ZH — charcoal samples from 2001 excavations
Gif — biological samples taken from the 1970s excavations (Mashkour *et al.* 1999)
TUNC — charcoal samples from the 1970s excavations submitted by Negahban (Bovington and Masoumi 1972)

Figure 22 Radiocarbon date ranges of Zagheh

period at Cheshmeh-Ali are 5260–4940 BC to 4850–4590 BC⁷⁰. The ranges also agree well with those published by Mashkour *et al.*⁷¹ (see Fig. 22). However, sample TUNC 12 taken in the excavation in 1970 show a significantly older date and TUNC 10 a significantly younger date. No depth measurement, however, has been given for the latter and the cultural context has been described as ‘uncertain’.⁷² Since no stratigraphic/context information or description on the handling of the specimen has been provided, it is difficult to explain the obvious discrepancies.

The date ranges of samples taken from the 2002 excavation of Ghabristan do not appear to have any significant overlap with those obtained by Mashkour *et al.* from the biological samples taken from the 1970s excavations (Fig. 23)⁷³. This need not be inconsistent since the upper levels of Trench L34 were disturbed by illegal excavation and no suitable samples could be collected for dating, whereas the samples used by Mashkour *et al.* in their determinations were taken from depths of less than 2m.⁷⁴

Correlation with the two samples taken by Negahban in the 1970 excavation is more problematic since both estimations are well out of the range of both the date ranges of the present study and that of Mashkour *et al.*⁷⁵ Descriptions given by Bovington and Masoumi of the context association⁷⁶ from which the sample TUNC 11 was taken is inconsistent with the old date range suggested by the radiocarbon determination. The cultural context of TUNC 7, which was taken from cemetery trench A at a depth of 1.6m has been described as “uncertain”.⁷⁷ In absence of a stratigraphic sequence and more detailed context information, correlation of the results and explanation for the discrepancies are difficult.

⁷⁰ Nine samples have been taken from Trench H7 and one from Trench E4–5 from stratigraphically controlled contexts in the 1997 re-excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali.

⁷¹ Mashkour *et al.* 1999.

⁷² Bovington and Masoumi 1972, p. 459.

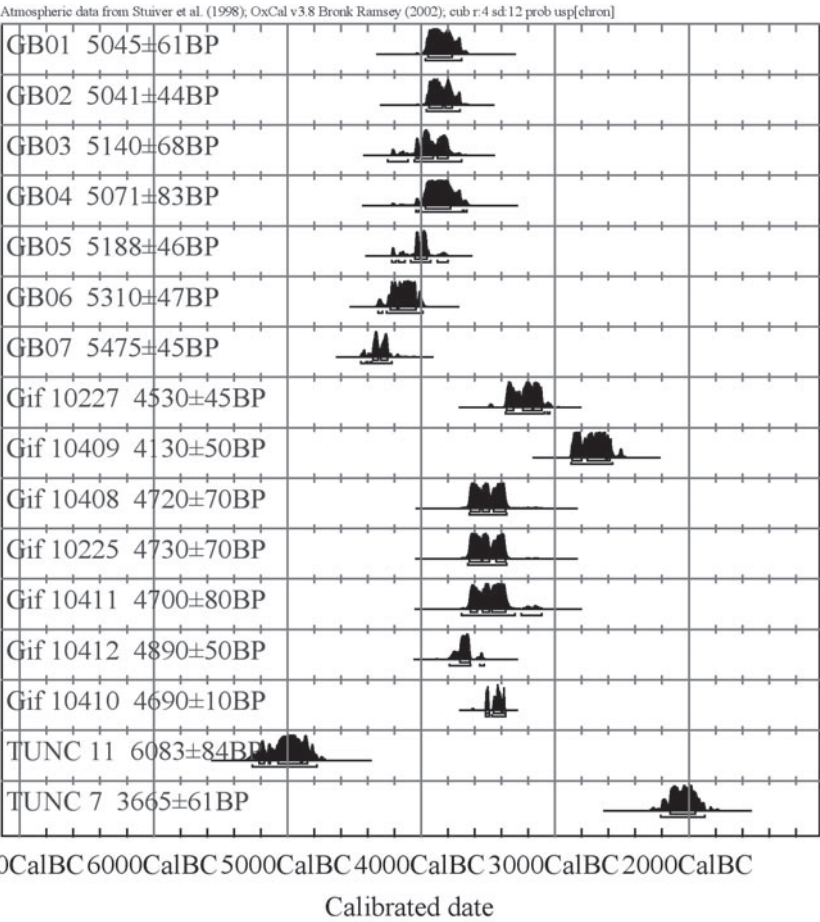
⁷³ Mashkour *et al.* 1999.

⁷⁴ Mashkour *et al.* 1999.

⁷⁵ Mashkour *et al.* 1999.

⁷⁶ Bovington and Masoumi 1972, p. 458. It was described as ‘burnt wood obtained from depth 2.68m. Level contains a fine textured, grit-tempered red ware with monochrome brown or black decoration similar to Sialk III (5) and Hissar IB.’ Both TUNC 7 and TUNC 11 were labelled as from Sagz-Abad Cemetery, Trench A, Bovington and Masoumi 1972, p. 458. These have been attributed to Ghabristan by Voigt and Dyson 1992, p. 135, and Mashkour 1999, Table 1. Majidzadeh 1977, p. 59, quoted a C14 date of 4900 ±100 BC at ‘level 10, the oldest layer of Period III’.

⁷⁷ Bovington and Masoumi 1972, p. 458.



GB — charcoal samples from 2001 excavations
Gif — biological samples taken from the 1970s excavations (Mashkour *et al.* 1999)
TUNC — charcoal samples from the 1970s excavations submitted by Negahban (Bovington and Masoumi 1972); see note 6.

Figure 23 Radiocarbon date ranges of Ghabristan

The settlement date for Ghabristan from the present study is around 4450–4220 BC (4370–4160 BC if the *Sequence* model were adopted). The youngest date range of 3970–3700 BC established at Ghabristan, however, does not represent the terminal settlement date of the site since the uppermost layers have been disturbed and consequently no suitable sample could be collected. The chronometric data, therefore, suggest that there is an

overlap between the abandonment of Zagheh and the occupation of Ghabristan.

Combining the ceramic, stratigraphic and chronometric data, the following date ranges can be given for the Chalcolithic period:

Table 24 Date ranges for the Chalcolithic period in the Qazvin Plain

Period	Representative contexts/Site	Date (cal BC)
Transitional Chalcolithic	Zagheh	5300–4300
Early Chalcolithic	Contexts 29–14, Trench L34 at Ghabristan	4300–4000
Middle Chalcolithic	Contexts 13–8, Trench L34 at Ghabristan	4000–3700
Late Chalcolithic	Context 5, Trench L34 at Ghabristan	3700–3000

Summary of evidence from the re-excavation of Zagheh and Ghabristan

The main contributions of the re-excavations of these two key sites in the Qazvin plain to the clarification of internal chronology of the north-western Central Plateau are as follows:

- Multiple trenches excavated to the virgin soil in Zagheh affirm the coexistence of Cheshmeh-Ali and the Zagheh types at all levels in contrast to the single deep trench excavated in the 1970s in which Cheshmeh-Ali type was found only in the upper levels. The occurrence of Cheshmeh-Ali type is irregular across the layers in each of the trenches and from trench to trench irrespective of the distance between the trenches.
- Petrographic studies of eighty samples taken from Zagheh and neighbouring Kamal-Abad have shown that clay used for the Cheshmeh-Ali type could have been of local source.⁸⁰ This is in contrast to the earlier postulation by Malek Shahmirzadi that the clay or the vessels may have been imported based on the empirical observation that the clay used was quite different from the local clay source.⁸¹ This would imply that the production was likely to be local rather than from a productional centre.

⁸⁰ Fazeli and Djamali 2002.

⁸¹ Malek Shahmirzadi 1977a, p. 281.

- The ceramic types recovered in the re-excavation of Ghabristan do not differ significantly from those excavated in the 1970s. However, two observations regarding the distributions of Plum Ware in the early period (Ghabristan I) and the Gray Ware in the later period (Ghabristan III) lend themselves to different interpretations to those proposed by Majidzadeh.⁸⁰ These will be further discussed in the next section.
- The ceramics in Ghabristan represent the Early to Late Chalcolithic period and do not show any transitional stages from the Zagheh types of ceramics in the lower levels. Hence, on ceramic evidence there appears to be a gap between the abandonment of Zagheh and the occupation of Ghabristan. This, however, is not supported by the radiocarbon determinations taken from the two sites in which there appears to be an overlapping period of occupation in the second quarter of the 5th millennium BC.
- Ten radiocarbon samples taken from stratigraphically controlled contexts in Zagheh suggest an occupation period between 5370–5070 BC and 4460–4240 BC. Samples taken from Ghabristan suggest that the site was first occupied in the period 4450–4220 BC (4370–4160 BC if the *Sequence* model were adopted). The lowest date range of 3970–3700 BC established at Ghabristan does not, however, represent the terminal settlement date of the site since the uppermost layers have been disturbed and consequently no suitable sample could be collected. These dates correlate reasonably well with those determined from biological samples by Mashkour *et al.*, but are considerably different to the four determinations taken by Negahban during excavations in 1970.⁸¹

Discussion

Findings at Zagheh

The discovery of the coexistence of Cheshmeh-Ali type with the Zagheh types in all levels has important implications. Firstly, it indicates that the types were not sequential. The technology for the production of the fine Cheshmeh-Ali type was available at the same time as the previously thought older, less technologically advanced Zagheh types. Therefore, the

⁸⁰ Majidzadeh 1976; 1981.

⁸¹ Mashkour *et al.* 1999.

production for the different types was most likely related to utilitarian and functional requirements. The emergence of specialization of pottery production in Transitional Chalcolithic period at Zagheh is suggested by the findings of Trench K where the absence of domestic features, the presence of kilns in the upper levels and the significantly higher number of pottery recovered, leading the excavator to believe that the area may be one of craft production.

Secondly, the contemporaneity of the types suggests that the Zagheh types were not Late Neolithic as proposed by Majidzadeh who referred to it as the Archaic Plateau period.⁸² They are quite different to the Late Neolithic ceramics found in Cheshmeh-Ali as described by Fazeli (2001: 41–2) or the ceramics that were found in Sialk dating to the Sialk I period.⁸³ On the other hand, the coexisting Cheshmeh-Ali ceramics have parallels to those found in the Transitional Chalcolithic period at Cheshmeh-Ali and, to a lesser extent, at Sialk II. A survey conducted by Fazeli in September/October 2003 revealed 17 new Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites in the Qazvin plain, some of which contain sherds similar to Sialk I and/or Late Neolithic ceramics found at Cheshmeh-Ali as well as the Zagheh and Cheshmeh-Ali types found in Zagheh excavations. This evidence provides additional support that Zagheh is a Transitional Chalcolithic site.

Thirdly, the radiocarbon estimations for the occupation of Zagheh between 5370–5070 BC and 4460–4240 BC approximates that of the Transitional Chalcolithic phase at Cheshmeh-Ali,⁸⁴ supporting the ceramic evidence which shows parallels between the two sites during this period.

Findings at Ghabristan

At Ghabristan, the plum-slipped ceramics found in the mid to late phases of the Early Chalcolithic period are dissimilar in colour, temper and manufacture techniques to the phase A Plum Ware described by Majidzadeh, the only shared characteristic being the painted motif of columns of chevrons with curved endings. The phase A Plum Ware is identical to the red fine fabric ceramics found in the upper levels of Cheshmeh-Ali and Mortezagard as recognised by Majidzadeh and confirmed by the re-excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali in 1997 by Fazeli.⁸⁵ Hence, the early phase of Plum

⁸² Majidzadeh 1981.

⁸³ Fazeli 2001, pp. 41–2; for Sialk, see Ghirshman 1938, pp. 11–16.

⁸⁴ The radiocarbon date ranges for the Transitional Chalcolithic period at Cheshmeh-Ali are 5260–4940 BC to 4850–4590 BC, see Fazeli *et al.* 2004, p. 20.

⁸⁵ Majidzadeh 1976, p. 31; Fazeli 2001.

Ware as described by Majidzadeh is a continuation of the tradition of the north Central Plateau. The findings in the 1997 excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali indicate a gradual change in ceramic decoration and forms in this period with no stratigraphic evidence of discontinuity in occupation and the appearance of Plum Ware is, therefore, not attributable to external diffusion or invasion/migration.⁸⁶ The plum-slipped ceramics were first found in small numbers in conjunction with the fine red fabric ceramics in context 28 of Trench L34 and increased in number in the later levels, indicating a possible gradual internal development,⁸⁷ although it must be pointed out that the fabric and production aspect of the surface treatment between the phase A Plum Ware and phase C Plum Ware are quite different.

Similarly, in the case of Gray Ware, it is seen to be present in small numbers in the early Mid Chalcolithic levels and increased in production in the later Mid Chalcolithic/Late Chalcolithic period. From Mid Chalcolithic period onwards as a result of increased interaction, social complexity and specialization ceramics types became more homogenous across the region and exhibited increased uniformity in colour, forms and decoration as Majidzadeh has detailed.⁸⁸ Fazeli confirmed the observation in a study of craft specialization in the Tehran plain, as did the recent excavation of Ozbaki by Majidzadeh.⁸⁹

From this perspective, the evidence for internal development suggests that the introduction of innovation need not be a result of invasion/migration. Indeed, changes in styles in ceramics are no longer accepted as indication of changes in population. Since the 1960s various hypotheses concerning style and stylistic variability have been proposed⁹⁰. Of particular relevance to the Central Plateau are those concerning social interaction and information exchange. Caldwell (1980: 8–12) and Sinopoli (1991: 120) have suggested that stylistic designs, manufacture techniques and innovation may originate either from within the tradition or as a result of contact, such as intermarriage, trade or other forms of communication.⁹¹ Wobst and Plog hypothesized that style was part of the formal artefact variability that was related to the functioning of artefacts in “information exchange” within a social system.⁹² The Wobstian theory has influenced subsequent scholars,

⁸⁶ Fazeli 2001, p. 44.

⁸⁷ Confirmation awaits the findings of the other trenches.

⁸⁸ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 63–80.

⁸⁹ Fazeli 2001; Majidzadeh 2001.

⁹⁰ A comprehensive review on this extensive topic is provided by Carr (1995: 153–70).

⁹¹ Caldwell 1980: 8–12; Sinopoli 1991, p. 120.

⁹² Wobst 1977; Plog 1978; 1980; 1983.

such as Matney and Pollock, in their approaches to the study of Iranian ceramics.⁹³ Pollock further proposed that variations of style and decoration should be correlated with changing socio-political complexity.⁹⁴ Thus, changes in styles, forms, decorations and manufacture techniques need not indicate migration/invasion although the model has been commonly used as an explanation for discontinuous archaeological cultural change. This approach has been criticized as being simplistic and normative unless supported by functionalist models of social evolution.⁹⁵

Moreover, the occurrences of Gray Ware are limited to Ghabristan and two other sites, Ismailabad (Qazvin) and Ozbaki in the northern Tehran plain.⁹⁶ The Gray Ware with its rather distinctive incised surface decoration and lugged form has not been found outside of the Qazvin and Tehran/Rayy plains in this period. Thus any speculation that it was result of invasion/migration of people from Azerbaijan needs to be considered with caution.⁹⁷ It is, therefore, proposed that the occurrence of Plum Ware and Gray Ware be considered from the perspective of innovative production within the tradition rather than the result of invasion or migration.

Contemporaneity of Zagheh and Ghabristan

The ceramic evidence suggests a gap between the abandonment of Zagheh and the occupation of Ghabristan but this is not supported by the radiocarbon determinations. However, if Zagheh were abandoned at the upper limit of the 95.4% confidence range, that is, 4460BC and Ghabristan occupied in the lower limit of the 95.4% confidence range, that is, 4220BC, the intervening 240 years may have allowed the development and changes in the ceramic tradition to occur.

Environmental changes may be an important cause in the abandonment and occupation of settlement in the Central Plateau. This area of the Central Plateau is endowed with fertile brown soil and have access to water sources, hence it is likely that successive settlements such as Ghabristan and Sagzabad would be found in this region of the Qazvin plain.

⁹³ Matney 1995; Pollock 1983.

⁹⁴ Pollock 1983, pp. 356–63, 385–6.

⁹⁵ Anthony 1997, p. 21.

⁹⁶ Majidzadeh 2001, p. 143.

⁹⁷ Majidzadeh 1976, pp. 179–180, 193.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper is to clarify certain aspects of the chronology of the northern Central Plateau in the light of new evidence from recent re-excavations of the key sites of Zagheh and Ghabristan as well as offer an alternate interpretation on the ceramic evidence. It should be seen as a supplement to the work performed by the team under E. O. Negahban in the 1970s.

Based on the findings of re-excavations of Zagheh and Ghabristan in the Qazvin plain, the excavation of Cheshmeh-Ali and survey of the Tehran plain,⁹⁸ the unpublished survey of the Qazvin plain and the preliminary report on the excavation at Ozbaki,⁹⁹ the following chronology for the northwestern Central Plateau is proposed:

Table 25 Chronology of the northwestern Central Plateau

Period	Tehran plain	Qazvin plain	Kashan plain	
			North	South
Late Chalcolithic 3700–3000 BC	Ozbaki Maymonabad Mehdikani Mafinabad Chouqali Sadeghabadi	Ghabristan IV [Late Plateau] Ghabristan III (Gray Ware) Ismailabad (Qazvin)		Sialk III 6–7
Middle Chalcolithic 4000–3700 BC	Ozbaki Mehdikani Mafinabad Sadeghabadi Chouqali Mortezagerd Chahmak Tepe	Ghabristan II [Middle Plateau] Ghabristan III (Gray Ware)		Sialk III 4–5
Early Chalcolithic 4300–4000 BC	Mortezagerd Ismailabad (near Karaj) Ozbaki Kara Tepe (Sharyar) Cheshmeh-Ali Mehdikani Mafinabad Sadeghabadi Chouqali Fakrabad Poeinak Parandak	Ghabristan I (Plum Ware) [Middle Plateau]		Sialk III 1–3

⁹⁸ Fazeli 2001.

⁹⁹ Majidzadeh 2001.

Period	Tehran plain	Qazvin plain	Kashan plain	
			North	South
Transitional Chalcolithic 5300–4300 BC	Kara Tepe (Sharyar) Ismailabad (near Karaj) Cheshmeh-Ali Mehdikani Mafinabad Sadeghabadi Chouqali Poeinak Parandak	Zagheh I–XII [Archaic and Early Plateau] Cheshm-Bolbol Kamal-Abad	Sialk II	
Late Neolithic Late 7 th mill- mid 6 th mill BC	Cheshmeh-Ali Sadeghabadi		Sialk I	

The ongoing survey in the Qazvin plain by the University of Tehran aims at bridging the hiatus between the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age and examines the relationship between the Kura-Araxes culture and the development of the early Bronze Age culture in the northwest Iran.

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Neutron Activation Analysis of Medieval Ceramics from Kinet, Turkey, especially Port Saint Symeon Ware

M. James BLACKMAN

Archaeometry Program
Department of Anthropology
National Museum of Natural History
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20013
USA
Email: blackman@nist.gov

Scott REDFORD

McGhee Center for Eastern Mediterranean Studies
Georgetown University
P.K. 81
07400 Alanya
TURKEY
Email: redfords@georgetown.edu

Abstract

Excavation in medieval levels at the site of Kinet in southern Turkey has yielded evidence for the production of Port Saint Symeon ware, a widely, if not the most widely, distributed glazed ceramic ware in the Mediterranean in the 13th century. This article uses instrumental neutron activation analysis of excavated ceramics from Kinet, 1930's excavations at another medieval port in the region, Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina, and selected museum pieces, to examine this phenomenon. It also examines other widely traded ceramics from the period: ones thought to

*originate in the Aegean. The authors attempt to gauge the cultural weight of maritime exchange of ceramics in the medieval Mediterranean, arguing that they were an essential part of the creation of a common taste in diverse societies in the central and eastern Mediterranean basin.**

Introduction

The historical movement known as the Crusades has caused many to view the medieval Mediterranean primarily as a theater of conflict between Islam and Christianity. During the period of the Crusades, for two hundred years, northern and western Europeans set up and maintained independent states along the shores of the Levant (the eastern Mediterranean littoral). In the late eleventh century, the Latin Christian armies of the First Crusade established these states at the expense of Muslim polities. In the late thirteenth century, other Muslims conquered the last of the Latin cities on the mainland.

This historical summary omits many complicating factors of the era, among them, the many varieties of Christianity and Islam, trade, and alliance. The most prominent difference within Christianity was between Latin and Greek Christianity, but in the Levant many other denominations and languages existed. Geopolitics forged political, military, and trade alliances between different Christian and Islamic polities at various times and in various places.

One very particular kind of state, the Italian maritime republic, belies a bilateral, confrontational view of the medieval Mediterranean world. During the period of the Crusades, several of these states, particularly Venice

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and Genoa, rose to prominence. They profited from many aspects of the Crusade era, trafficking in pilgrims and slaves, commodities and luxury goods, waging war and establishing alliances and treaties against and with all states in the region in order to protect their economic interests. As the period in question progressed, these republics set up colonies, even maritime empires (in the case of Venice). The islands of the Aegean and Mediterranean especially helped maintain and develop links, shrinking distances between markets.

This study aims to examine one particular node of contact during this time period: the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean. More specifically, it focuses on the medieval ceramics from Kinet, a port town lying on the Gulf of Iskenderun close to the Mediterranean's northeasternmost corner (Fig. 1). Glazed ceramics from Kinet comprised a mixture of local production and imports. In this study, we employ the baseline of archaeologically derived ceramics from Kinet in order to investigate the creation of taste in the medieval Mediterranean.² In ceramic terms, this taste consisted in the creation and circulation of remarkably uniform ceramic types. The overwhelming majority of these was bowls of standard size and shape. They bear standardized and signature glazes and iconographically consistent decoration. Despite this consistency, ceramic production was not centralized. Quite the opposite: during the medieval period glazed earthenwares were produced in a variety of locations.³

In this study, we present the results of a program of instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) of medieval (12th–14th cs.) glazed ceramics from Kinet. We examined two major ceramic types. The first was Port Saint Symeon (PSS) Ware, a regionally produced, and widely exported, glazed and incised ware. Second, we analyzed glazed and incised bowls imported to Kinet likely from the Aegean. PSS and Aegean ceramics constitute two of the three most widely traded ceramics in the medieval Mediterranean. Many of them bear figural decoration. We hope that our establishing and questioning provenience and chronology for these important products will allow scholars using similar or different analytical approaches to attack other aspects of the common taste that is such a striking feature of medieval Islamic and Christian material culture in the Mediterranean basin.

² P. Bourdieu 1984, pp. 56 ff. argues for taste as a marker of class differentiation; on p. 32 ff that popular taste is more of an ethos than an aesthetic. Our argument, while not congruent with Bourdieu's, employs his ideas of taste as an important economic force and social marker.

³ Redford and Blackman 1997, pp. 244–246.



Figure 1 Map showing the location of Kinet

Common taste in the medieval Mediterranean was both a byproduct of close trade links and, we maintain, a consciously fostered policy, probably on the part of the Italian maritime republics. Because a variety of material cultural products (glass, ceramic, silks, carved and painted bone and ivory, etc) of this era display iconographic and stylistic similarities, it has proved difficult to employ traditional art historical tools to analyze them. As stated above, we have focused on two wares found in medieval levels at Kinet, PSS and Aegean ceramics, and have utilized one technique, INAA, to address certain aspects of this complex issue.

Using INAA, we have established the elemental signature for a local production of PSS ceramics at the site of Kinet (our Group 4). Second, we have also established the elemental signature for the production of PSS ceramics at the site of Port Saint Symeon itself (our Group 2, about which more below), also based on sampling and analysis of archaeologically derived ceramics. Third, we have sampled and analyzed ceramics of artistically significant examples of PSS ceramics from unprovenienced contexts in museum collections.

Aegean ceramics examined here derived solely from excavations at Kinet. In this group, variety consisted not in provenience, but in chronological and typological variation. From the beginning to the end of the medieval sequence at Kinet, imported glazed bowls from the Aegean were recovered in small but consistent quantities from all levels. These bowls range in decoration from finely incised to gouged, from monochrome to polychrome. If PSS ceramics represent the generative capacity of this region of the Mediterranean basin, then Aegean ceramics represent its absorption in pan-Mediterranean trends.

The History of Settlement at Medieval Kinet⁴

The archaeological site currently known as Kinet can be identified with the site called “Hisn al-Tinat/Tinat/al-Tinat/al-Tina” in Arabic language sources and Calamella/Canamella/Caramella in Frankish sources (Fig. 1). A team from Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey under the direction of Prof. Marie-Henriette Gates has been excavating Kinet since 1992.⁵

The site of Kinet lies at the edge of a fairly narrow but well-watered coastal plain, with the Mediterranean Sea to the west and, beyond the plain

⁴ The following section is adapted from Redford *et al.* 2001.

⁵ M.-H. Gates 1995–2002 for annual excavation summaries; Redford *et al.* 2001 for a preliminary report on medieval excavations.

to the east, the Amanos Mountains. As such, it was well situated to exploit the resources of the sea, plain, and mountains. In addition, Kinet sat astride the major trade and invasion route between Anatolia and Syria via the Cilician Plain to the north and the Belen Pass and Antioch to the south. Travelers like Wilbrand von Oldenburg in 1212 and Marco Polo in 1271 remarked on the fertile soil and plentiful game of the region.⁶ These advantages can be tempered by accounts of the intense heat and malarial coastal swamps that caused the population in the medieval period to flee the coastal plain for the more salubrious climate of the nearby mountains during the summer months. Earthquakes also periodically wracked the region.

In antiquity, Kinet was known as Issos. In the Roman period, settlement moved several kilometers south of the traditional site of Issos to an area near the banks of the Deli Çayı, the largest river in the vicinity. Sometime in the mid to late 12th century, the ancient city mound of Issos was resettled after a hiatus of over a millennium. This medieval occupation continued until the early decades of the 14th century.

The site of al-Tinat is mentioned as a halting place for Frederick of Swabia, son of the recently perished Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and his Templar escort, in 1190 C.E. The Muslim historian Abu Shama mentions that the site was at that time part of the territories of the Armenian King Levon.⁷ The site is not mentioned again as al-Tinat until more than seven decades later, when it is again associated with the Templars. At that time, in the year 1266, two years before the fall of Antioch, the historian Ibn Furat records an attack by the Mamluk armies of Sultan Baybars on the territories of the King of Armenian Cilicia in retaliation for an Armenian incursion into northern Syria. The destruction of the Templar fortress (qal'a) of al-Tinat/al-Tina is recorded along with the burning and destruction of other fortresses and towns belonging to the Templars.⁸

The medieval settlement at Kinet that has been recovered is congruent with the historical record. It is located appropriately to have served as a stopping place for a monarch and army eager to travel the fastest route to Antioch, hugging the coast south of Misis. The site was burned several times. It lies in the line of invasion for the Mamluk raid of 1266 and its layout is not inconsistent with a Templar garrison.

⁶ Marco Polo 1958, p. 46, "It is a land of many villages and towns, amply stocked with the means of life. It also affords good sport with all sorts of wild game, both beast and fowl." Wilbrandi de Oldenburg 1864, p. 174, "Ipsa uero in medio sui est plana et ualde fertilis, multa fouens animalia venationi competentia."

⁷ Abu Shama 1898, p. 460. See also Eickhoff 1977, p. 165.

⁸ Ibn Furat 1971, pp. 99, 126.

The organization of the medieval settlement at Kinet is congruent with the idea of a layout by a single authority, be it the Armenian Cilician, Templar, or other Latin authority (such as the Principality of Antioch). All medieval structures recovered on the eastern terrace are oriented at a consistent NE-SW orientation. On top of the city mound, all structures are oriented parallel or at right angles to the edge of the mound. Here, long spoke walls run parallel to each other and towards the center of the mound, with subsidiary walls built against them.

The medieval settlement at Kinet used mudbrick as its main building material. All walls were built of mudbrick on a stone socle. This socle was usually constructed of fieldstones or river cobbles, although squared stones from earlier habitation levels were also employed, often as corner stones.

The dating of medieval levels is based on ceramic comparanda, mainly from the Aegean, and coins. The two largest categories of coins found at Kinet are Antiochene helmet deniers and the copper coins of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. Most of the former have been found in the form of a hoard provisionally dated to the 1170's.⁹ The latter are more easily dateable, and provide confirmation for the 12th-early 14th century dates proposed for the occupation at medieval Kinet. Copper coins found at Kinet range in date from Levon I (reg. 1198–1219) and Levon II (1170–1289) through Hetoum I (1226–1270) and Hetoum II (1289–1305), Smpad (1296–1298), to Levon III (1301–1307), with the largest number of coins coming from the reign of Hetoum I.¹⁰

Medieval habitation at Kinet can be divided into four primary habitation phases (numbered from earliest to latest), with the first and second separated by a period of abandonment. The site was initially settled, as mentioned above, in an organized and methodical way. The initial implantation seems not to have lasted for a very long time, because there was little accumulation of debris. The scarcity of finds in this first phase can also be attributed to its abandonment, and not its destruction. There is less evidence of burning than that found at the end of the other three major phases. A layer of melted mudbrick and other settlement detritus separates this phase from Phase 2.

The site was reinvested in Phase 2 and a pavement was laid in the middle of the mound. At the edge of the mound, a system of smaller rooms and courtyards to a certain extent duplicated the arrangement in Phase 1. As in

⁹ The Kinet hoard of Antiochene helmet deniers is being published by D. M. Metcalf. His provisional dating of the hoard is 1170–1175.

¹⁰ Nercessian 2004.

Phase 1, the standing Persian fortifications must have been repaired and reused: there is no evidence for a newly built fortification wall. Phase 2 ended in conflagration and abandonment. A thick deposit of building stones and melted mud brick mixed with ash covered most of the areas excavated. There is evidence for selective rehabilitation, but most of the site seems to have been abandoned for several years if not longer.

Phase 3 began with a total reoccupation of the site. Another pavement was laid in the middle of the mound and walls surviving from earlier phases were reused. During this phase, the production of glazed Port Saint Symeon-type sgraffito ceramics began at the site. Phase 3, too, ended in burning and abandonment. Phase 4, the last architectural phase, was the only one characterized by building that is less careful in construction and orientation. It seems to have consisted of a ruder rebuilding and adaptation of the structures of Phase 3. Resettling also seems to have been selective. The eastern edge of the mound was turned into a cemetery. Despite the diminished character of the settlement, glazed ceramic production continued. This last settlement phase, too, ended in burning and abandonment, with whole vessels left in houses. Many of the complete vessels found date from this phase.

The majority of the coins comes from the two uppermost layers. They can be dated to the last two decades of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the fourteenth. If Metcalf is correct in his dating of the hoard, then the first phase of the medieval settlement began in the 1170s or 1180s, with the remaining parts of the sequence probably dating to the 13th century.

Historical Overview

During the 'long thirteenth century' of its medieval occupation, Kinet, like other ports in the eastern Mediterranean, experienced both the war that raged in the Levant attendant on the Frankish states and their allies, and the commercial boom that engulfed practically the entire Mediterranean basin. Venetians and Genoese tightened the commercial links around the basin by means of colonies, trade networks, treaties, and wars.¹¹

Surviving Italian portolans display this network of maritime trade. The archives of Venice and Genoa document trade in luxury goods such as spices,

¹¹ Matschke 2002; Day 2002. Heyd 1936, pp. 73-92, remains the best introduction to the economy and trade of Armenian Cilicia.

silk, jewels, and goods such as various kinds of cloth, slaves, wheat, wool, wine, timber, and oil, as do surviving treaties. Despite this written evidence, one manufactured good, widely traded, remains, to our knowledge, almost wholly undocumented in contemporaneous sources: glazed ceramics. Only passing mention is made of ceramics passing through or manufactured in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and in Beirut in the thirteenth century.¹²

The frequency of recovery of Aegean and other imported glazed ceramics from sites around the eastern Mediterranean littoral bespeaks a roaring trade. Excavations in Cairo and Alexandria in Egypt also yielded quantities of the imported glazed ceramics found at sites up and down the Levantine coast.¹³ Two 'ceramic shipwrecks' have also been documented; they were carrying cargoes of Aegean sgraffito ceramics: one ship is estimated to have had over 1500 glazed bowls and plates stashed in its hold.¹⁴ There must have been many more ships carrying ceramic cargoes. Analysis of medieval ceramics from excavations at Corinth has shown a dramatic rise in glazed ceramics as a percentage of the total weight of ceramics recovered there beginning in the twelfth century and rising steeply thereafter. At 1250 C.E., when the graph ends, glazed ceramics constitute 20% of the total weight of ceramics recovered. Likewise, the percentage of glazed wares found at the Palestinian Frankish site of the Red Tower increased to about 20% of the total during the 13th century Frankish occupation.¹⁵

Land and nautical archaeology demonstrate that glazed ceramics, particularly bowls, constituted important items of production and consumption at this time. Neither the archaeological nor written record demonstrates the dynamic of this development, although the presence of many glazed ceramic production centers at or near the Mediterranean coast indicates the importance of the Italian dominated maritime trade in stimulating and distributing production. Venetian documents mention Venetian manufacturing with specifically eastern Mediterranean markets in mind. Another document mentions Venetians running cloth factories in Armenian Cilicia.¹⁶

¹² Pringle 1982, pp. 113–115; Pringle 1986 pp. 467–70; François and Speiser 2002, pp. 607–608. Pringle 1986, p. 467 argues that the relative silence of the sources on the subject of ceramics is due to their being part of "a fairly intensive system of coastal redistribution" in the Levant, and not the better documented long distance trade. This two tiered system does not explain how increasing numbers of Italian wares found their way to the Levant in the first place.

¹³ Kubiak 1970, Kubiak 1998 for Egypt, François 1997 for Aegean wares, Pringle 1986, Plates 1 and 3 for distribution of PSS, proto-majolica, and other wares.

¹⁴ Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1999, pp. 121–122.

¹⁵ Sanders 2003, figure 23.7 for this graph; Pringle 1986b p. 138, fig. 40 for the totals from excavations at the Red Tower.

¹⁶ Laiou 1982, p. 15 for glass, p. 20 for glass medallions depicting religious subjects specifically made with eastern markets in mind; Bedoukian 1979, p. 38 for the cloth factory.

In this study, we would like to propose active Italian involvement not only in the manufacture and distribution of glazed bowls in the medieval Mediterranean, but also, extrapolating from the examples given above, in the promotion of artistic models for the decoration of those bowls. In short, we maintain that it was Italians who most likely worked to create a common taste in cities around the central and eastern Mediterranean basin and into the Black Sea: from the Crimea to Cairo, Jerusalem to Genoa. The iconography of this medieval artistic koine consisted of simplified, excerpted, or generalized symbols of power and privilege, be they astrological or heraldic; Turco-Mongol, classical, Christian, or Islamic in origin.¹⁷ Examples reproduced in this study include astrological signs (Figs 37: IV-D; 47: IV-KK), symbols of good fortune (Figs 21: II-CC; 26: II-MM) and heraldic signs, whether on shields, blazons, or banners (Figs. 26: II-NN; 28: II-QQ; 48: IV-QQ).

The presence of an artistic koine in the medieval Mediterranean has long been recognized for many media, not just ceramics. And yet, in the absence of dated, inscribed objects, it has been and continues to be difficult to assign provenience to most objects. From provenience comes context (especially if the object has an archaeological derivation), and from context derives a closer sense of the meaning and social valence of an object. The Italian maritime republics aimed to ‘decontextualize’ cultures around the eastern Mediterranean basin in order more efficiently to move goods. They may have fostered standardized shape, glaze, and decoration of local ceramic traditions. Doubtless, other manufactured products like glass and various kinds of cloth underwent the same process. As the thirteenth century progressed, another trend arose, the export of ceramics and other products from the Italian mainland to the eastern Mediterranean. This trend is represented at Kinet by the recovery of Venetian bowls with rouletted decoration, but its most evident ceramic aspect is the flooding of the Aegean and Levant with proto-Majolica bowls made in Italy.¹⁸

Ceramics

I: Port Saint Symeon Ware

The current study takes as its base point archaeologically derived ceramics from ongoing excavations in medieval levels at Kinet. Excavations at

¹⁷ Redford 2004.

¹⁸ Pringle 1982.

Kinet in 1997 recovered evidence for the manufacture of glazed incised ceramics at the site in the form of two unfinished sherds (Figs 52: IV-AAA; 47: IV-OO) of bowls and one kiln trivet (Fig. 51: IV-YY). Subsequent excavations have recovered one more kiln trivet. The unfinished sherds are of a ware found abundantly in later levels at Kinet. This ware is conventionally known as Port Saint Symeon Ware or al-Mina Ware after the two names, Latin and Arabic, for the main port of Antioch in the thirteenth century (Fig. 1).

Antioch was the capital of the Franco-Norman Principality of Antioch (1098-1268), one of four Frankish states in the Levant. Its chief port, Latakiah, had fallen to the armies of Saladin in 1188. Thereafter, Port Saint Symeon, at the mouth of the Orontes River some 20 kilometers west of Antioch, seems to have become its chief port. The Genoese, and later the Venetians, held commercial concessions in the Principality.¹⁹

British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley excavated medieval levels at Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina in 1936-1937 and Arthur Lane published an account of its Islamic and Crusader era finds soon thereafter.²⁰ Lane noted evidence for the local manufacture of PSS ceramics in the form of kiln wasters. PSS ware can be characterized as follows: a red or brown earthenware fabric covered on the interior and on the upper part of the exterior with a thick whitish slip. (In the small minority of closed-form vessels, this relationship of slip to surface covered was reversed.) This slip was then incised with a tool, creating a design contrasting the darker fabric exposed by incision with the lighter colored slip. (This technique is commonly known as *sgraffito*.) Vessels were bisque fired either before or after slipping. The vessel was covered with clear glaze with splashes of copper oxide (for green) and iron oxide or manganese (for light or dark brown glaze) following the outlines of the decoration.²¹ After firing, the slip assumed a light yellow tint under the glaze, creating the typical tricolor palette of yellow, green, and brown. The sherds mentioned above had been bisque fired, slipped and incised, but not glazed or glaze fired.

In the kiln, PSS bowls, like most medieval earthenwares, were stacked upside down. Two methods were used to separate the bowls and keep them

¹⁹ Asbury 2000, p. 135 for Tancred's 1101 granting of a trade concession to the Genoese at Port Saint Symeon; Cahen 1940, pp. 494-495 notes the first official presence in Antioch of Venetian traders starting in 1143; doubtless Port Saint Symeon was involved at this time as well.

²⁰ Lane 1937.

²¹ Lane notes the use of manganese on PSS ware from Port Saint Symeon itself: this glaze was not used on ceramics found at Kinet, whether made at Kinet or imported from PSS.

from sticking one to another. In one, small ceramic trivets (see Fig. 51: IV-YY) were placed between the base of one bowl and the lowest point on the interior of another bowl. This technique of firing sometimes leaves telltale triangular points in the interior base of pots. In cases when the glaze has been freely applied or the firing temperature is higher than normal, beading of glaze on vessel rims can also be observed (e.g. Fig. 40: IV-O). Another firing technique calls for the stacking of vessels between ceramic rods inserted in the walls of the kiln and projecting inward. Rods of this variety were recovered from the Roman era bathhouse at the nearby site of Epiphaneia in conjunction with PSS sgraffito ceramics (see Fig. 51: IV-XX), thereby demonstrating that both types of kiln furniture were current for the production of PSS ceramics. Since Roman bathhouses were commonly used for industrial activity in the medieval period, it stands to reason that the structure there was used for this purpose.

As stated above, along with proto-Majolica and Aegean sgraffito, Zeuxippus and gouged wares, Port Saint Symeon ware has been found widely distributed around the eastern and central Mediterranean. Proto-majolica was made in Sicily and southern Italy, making PSS ware the only intensively manufactured and extensively traded glazed ceramic ware in the medieval Mediterranean to have originated within the Frankish states of the Levantine littoral. It was this status that presumably caused Denys Pringle to call it “the ‘Crusader’ ceramic *par excellence*.”²² In a seminal article, Pringle plotted the distribution of PSS and other glazed ceramics around the eastern Mediterranean. He also posited multiple centers of production for PSS ceramics, something that excavations at Kinet have proved. In addition to Kinet, PSS ceramics were produced at nearby Epiphaneia, as the kiln furniture from Epiphaneia indicates. Evidence of production at the Cilician town of Mamistra/Mopsuestia/Misis has also been published.²³ Doubtless PSS ceramics were produced at several sites throughout Smooth Cilicia.

The presence of production centers of PSS ceramics north of the actual town of Port Saint Symeon points to the dangers of identifying this ware too closely with the Principality of Antioch and thereby the Franks, Pringle’s ‘Crusaders’. Although Kinet itself seems likely to have been a possession of the Knights Templar, a Crusader military order, it was located in the border region between the Principality of Antioch and the Kingdom of

²² Pringle, 1986, p. 458.

²³ Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, p. 358.

Armenian Cilicia. Sherds of PSS ware can be found throughout Smooth Cilicia, the home of the Armenian Kingdom.²⁴

The horizontal (spatial) axis of PSS ware production spreads north and west of the actual port of PSS well into the territory of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. The vertical (temporal) axis of PSS ware production also exceeds the boundaries of Frankish occupation. To wit: at Kinet, PSS ware begins to be produced in the third habitation phase, dating to the late thirteenth century, after the fall of Antioch (and with it the town of Port Saint Symeon) to the Mamluk army in 1268. In a review of Lane's 1937 publication in *Ars Islamica* in 1939, Florence Day disputed Lane's own neat tying of history and archeology together, a habit he had that bedevils the study of Islamic ceramics to this day. Day pointed out that Lane published at least four different styles of PSS sgraffito bowl decoration, and she saw no reason to assume that its production ceased after the fall of Antioch (and with it Port Saint Symeon) in 1268.²⁵ Her comments were based on her work on the medieval material from excavations at Gözlütepe, Tarsus, which she never published more than cursorily, so they have been largely ignored. The data from Kinet support Day's assertion that sgraffito production of PSS ware continued in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; Day's fourth style corresponds well to the PSS sgraffito pottery from Kinet as exemplified by our Group 4. (Other of Day's conclusions regarding PSS production, in our opinion, are less accurate. They will be discussed below.)

There seems to be little difference in the material culture of medieval sites ostensibly belonging to different sects, ethnicities, and polities. Observable differences can be more easily linked to geography. It is for this reason that it makes sense to think of this ware if not exclusively, then primarily, in relation to Italian borne commerce. If our conclusions are correct, then PSS ceramics continued to be produced in Port Saint Symeon *after* the Mamluk conquest there, just as they did at Kinet (itself raided and burned several times in this period), and, according to Day, at Tarsus, too.

In the context of trade networks, one can think of PSS ceramics in several different ways. First, one can think of them as filling empty ship holds that had contained proto majolica from Italy, sgraffito wares from the Aegean, or as François and Speiser suggest, other goods as well. Second, one can think of them as created to integrate with the increasing volume of trade in the northeastern Mediterranean after the mid thirteenth century, when Armenian Cilicia allied with the Mongols, thus allowing Mediterranean merchants

²⁴ Toydemir 2003 and Volbach 1930 published PSS ceramics from the northeast and western corners of Smooth Cilicia respectively.

²⁵ Day 1939, pp. 191–192.

direct access to the vast caravan trade of Asia through Armenian Cilician ports, principally Ayas (Fig. 1). And third, one can think of PSS ceramics as being intended to profit from this region's flourishing trade with inland Islamic northern Syria. The popularity of PSS ceramics seems to have occasioned local, inland Syrian imitation.²⁶

II: "Aegean" Ceramics at Kinet: Made in Cyprus? Palestine?

PSS ceramics are found at Kinet from the first medieval phase onward, but were produced at Kinet and recovered in significant numbers only in the latter decades of the 13th and first years of the 14th century, ending only with the final burning and abandonment of the site. By contrast, small but consistent quantities of glazed Aegean bowls are present at Kinet, but they are found from the beginning of the medieval reoccupation of the city mound until the latest stratum. Most remarkably, of the 32 'Aegean' bowls found at all levels at Kinet, sampled, and analyzed, all but 2 pertain to the same chemical group, Group 1. This group contains the following diverse wares: fine sgraffito, polychrome fine sgraffito, green and brown painted ware, slip-painted ware, gouged ware (also known as Aegean or incised sgraffito ware) and champ-levé.²⁷

Kinet excavations demonstrate that Port Saint Symeon ceramics continued to be produced well beyond Lane's proposed terminal date of 1268. Similarly, they extend the production life of gouged 'Aegean' ware the length of the 13th century and into the early 14th century. It is well known that 13th century Cypriot potters imitated PSS ware. If these 'Aegean wares' were manufactured in Cyprus, too, it would underscore what we know to be increasingly tight commercial relations between the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia and the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus. Again, because of the historical links between this region and the Genoese, and the high profile Genoese presence in the Cypriot port of Famagusta, historical data indicate that Genoese merchants were likely the prime carriers of this trade.²⁸

The distance between Kinet and even the closest Aegean island of Rhodes is considerable, while Cyprus lies just over the horizon from Kinet. Cyprus had been a province of the Byzantine Empire; it was in the hands of a Greek usurper when Richard the Lionheart conquered the island in 1191. A Frankish dynasty, the Lusignans, ruled Cyprus during most of the period of

²⁶ Riis and Poulsen 1957, p. 234.

²⁷ These terms are adapted from Vroom 2003.

²⁸ Jacoby 2001, p. 120, notes a Genoese contract dating from the 1270s for the loading of timber from Canamella.

medieval occupation at Kinet. More significantly, during the second half of the thirteenth century, its eastern port of Famagusta, facing the Levantine littoral, developed as a major center for the Levant trade of the Genoese, Venetians, and others.²⁹

Since Cyprus has been posited as a major center for the transshipment of Aegean cargoes and imitator of Aegean (and PSS) ceramics, nearby Cyprus springs to mind as the logical, local source for the 'Aegean' ceramics found at Kinet. A recent study seems to support this assertion. Based on INAA analysis, Boas claims that both Zeuxippus ware and 12th century Aegean ceramics were produced on Cyprus.³⁰ However, this publication is based on a small sample size. Moreover, the data are incompletely published, making comparison with the Kinet chemical data impossible.

Historical and archaeological data concur on Cyprus as the most probable source for these 'Aegean' ceramics. Cyprus featured prominently in 12th century Byzantine efforts in the eastern Mediterranean. As an integral part of the Byzantine Empire, there is no reason for Cyprus *not* to have produced the same glazed ceramics as other regions of the empire in the Aegean, nor to have ceased their production during years of strife in the later 12th century.³¹ The fact remains, however, that our chemical data for these 'Aegean' ceramics need corroboration from Cypriot examples for this theory to be substantiated. And examination of INAA data from Bronze and Iron Age ceramics from Cyprus provides no evidence of a Cypriot connection.

In a 1985 article, Pringle postulated a local, Frankish-Palestinian production of what he called 'Coarse Graffiti Wares' and noted the wide distribution and production of one variety of these wares from the mid-12th century into the 14th century as well as its resemblance to monochrome Cypriot sgraffito ceramics. Several of the Kinet sherds resemble pottery from the Frankish Palestinian port of Caesarea published in this article (compare 11:56 with Fig. 3: I-E and 9:50 and 10:51 with Figs 11: I-AA and I-U). Pringle's article raised the issue of imitation of Aegean gouged and champ-levé ceramics not in Cyprus, but in Palestine, but it also lumped them together

²⁹ Balard 1985, pp. 252–253, gives figures noting the predominance of the Genoese, but also a substantial Venetian presence. On p. 257 he gives figures for investments from Famagusta, the great entrepot on the eastern coast of Cyprus, for the years 1296–1310: Ayas was the single greatest destination for commercial investment.

³⁰ Based on incompletely published INAA data, Boas 1994, p.111 claims that Zeuxippus ware, 12th century fine 'Aegean' sgraffitos, and what he calls Imitation Port Saint Symeon Ware were all produced on Cyprus.

³¹ See Savvides 1995 for the history of Cyprus in the first half of the 12th century.

into a large and ungainly category together with other sgraffito ceramics produced only in the Levant.³²

More recently, Milwright has taken up the issue of monochrome gouged ceramics, which he calls “widely incised sgraffito”. Based on his work in Jordan, he plots a largely inland distribution of the ceramic type, and attributes it to the Frankish and post-Frankish periods of the 13th and into the 14th centuries. As for the connection with Cyprus and the Aegean, he hypothesizes that Aegean and Cypriot sgraffitos could have “provided the initial stimulus required for the development of the widely incised style in the early thirteenth century,” a development he, along with Pringle, places in Palestine.³³ Since our chemical data from Kinet point to a single source for Aegean sgraffito ceramics, even varieties *not* imitated in the Levant, in all likelihood the ceramics in Group 1 were not made in Palestine. Still, the complexity of the issue is underlined by Pringle and Milwright’s arguments for Levantine production of some ceramics imitative of some ‘Aegean’ wares; a production that continued, as it does at Kinet, after the fall of the Frankish states on the shores of the Levant in the last decades of the thirteenth century.

Ceramics III: Provenience of the Chemical Groups

In the following section, we would like to discuss the visual and chemical characteristics of the 5 main chemical groups of ceramics. As mentioned above, these divide into three large groups, 1 (Aegean (?)), 2 (Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina production of PSS ware) and 4 (Kinet/Epiphaneia production of PSS ware). Groups 3 and 5 are smaller group that consisted mainly of monochrome glazed wares and lamps and sgraffito ceramics respectively.

One hundred seventy nine ceramic sherds (159 from excavations at Kinet) were sampled by drilling with a tungsten carbide bit. About one hundred fifty to two hundred milligrams were extracted from the edges of the sherds. When whole vessels were sampled, smaller amounts were extracted by drilling into unglazed areas on the base. After drying at 110°C for 24 hours, nominal 100 mg sub-samples were taken for analysis. The sub-samples were

³² Pringle 1985 p. 183 for the dating of “Coarse Graffita Wares” and pp. 179 and 190 for the resemblance to Cypriot and Aegean wares.

³³ Milwright 2003, p. 91. The examples of this ware found at Kerak, Jordan, and illustrated in his fig. 1 also bear a similarity to certain examples in Group 1: compare Milwright’s 1:2 with 1B and 1:6 with 1D.

analyzed by instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) at the Archaeometry Program's laboratory using the National Institute of Standards and Technology's 20 megawatt research reactor. The analytical protocol followed that reported by Blackman.³⁴ Thirty-six elements were sought and twenty-six were routinely quantified in the ceramic samples. These twenty-six elements are listed in **Table 1**.

After chemical analysis, the elemental concentration data for the ceramics were initially processed with an average link hierarchical aggregative clustering algorithm on a mean Euclidean distance matrix using seventeen elements. The elements are identified in **Table 1**. Nine of the twenty-six elements quantified were not used in the analysis for various reasons. Cobalt was excluded due to contamination from the tungsten carbide drills used in the sampling process. Antimony and arsenic were contaminated by the unavoidable inclusion of lead glaze also during sampling. The remaining six elements (Zn, Sr, Ba, Nd, Tb, and U) were not used either because of analytical problems, poor analytical precision, or concentrations below the detection limit for a number of samples.

The cluster analysis identified three large ceramic groups comprised of thirty or more samples and two smaller groups of ten and three samples each. The three large groups, designated compositional groups 1, 2, and 4, contained enough samples to be tested for statistical validity and refined using Mahalanobis distance and Hotelling's T^2 square statistic. **Table 2** represents the final iteration of this refinement and presents, for each sample, the probability that the sample was drawn from the population making up the three major compositional groups. This multivariate statistical analysis demonstrates the clear distinction among the three major chemical groups at the 99 per cent confidence level. The two smaller groups, Kinet groups 3 and 5, did not contain sufficient samples to be rigorously tested. However, then tested for inclusion in the three large groups, all members were rejected from inclusion at the 99.9 percent probability level (**Table 2**). The remaining 32 samples (18 percent of the total analyzed) did not cluster with the five groups identified above. Further, when tested for inclusion in the three major chemical groups, all were rejected at the 99+ per cent probability level (**Table 2**). These samples are considered outliers for the purpose of this paper.

The distinction among compositional groups 1, 2, 3, and 4 can be graphically demonstrated by a simple binary plot of the elements Cr vs. Ce

³⁴ Blackman 1984; 1986.

presented in **Figure 55**. In this figure, Kinet compositional groups 1, 2, 3, and 4 are plotted with each group's 95 per cent confidence ellipse. The clear separation of Kinet compositional group 3 from Groups 1, 2, and 4 lends credence to Group 3's existence as a separate compositional group.

Table 3 presents the means and coefficients of variation for the four compositional groups. Inspection of the coefficients of variation for each group shows that Group 1 is the most homogenous group with 17 of 23 C.V./s at 10 per cent or less. Group 1 is made from a "non" calcareous clay averaging less than 3.5 per cent calcium. The ceramics represented by the other three groups were made from calcareous clays, with each averaging more than 11 per cent calcium. While the Fe concentrations in the four compositional groups are similar — between 4.4 per cent and 5.0 per cent — the chromium concentrations vary greatly both within and between the groups. Group 1 has the lowest amount of chromium, with 165 ppm, and is the most homogenous, with a C.V. of 6 per cent; Groups 2 and 3 average 406 and 486 ppm chromium and have more than twice the variability, with C.V.s of 13 per cent and 17 per cent; and Group 4 has nearly double the chromium of Groups 2 and 3, with 776 ppm and a similar C.V. of 16.4 per cent. The low calcium and low chromium concentrations in the pastes of compositional group 1 as opposed to the high calcium and high chromium of Groups 2, 3, and 4 clearly indicate that it is made from a clay obtained from a very different geological setting than the other groups. Group 1's homogeneity also argues for a single source for that clay. Groups 2, 3, and 4 are all made of calcium carbonate-containing clays and their higher coefficients of variation would support the argument for a more disbursed resource procurement zone than that for Group 1.

Group 1

How were these chemical groups assigned provenience? In the case of Aegean ceramics (Group 1), as the discussion above makes clear, they were not. The sherds sampled belong to ceramic types or wares well known to archaeologists in Greece, Turkey, and elsewhere. The hypothesis concerning possible ceramic production in Cyprus remains to be investigated by the analysis of sherds of comparable wares from Cyprus and Palestine. Such sherds are not available to us. We hope that this study will spur a further investigation of this issue. As stated above, the data from Cypriot Bronze and Iron Age ceramics are not encouraging.

Group 2: Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina Production

Group 2 was assigned to Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina, the 13th century port of Antioch, on stylistic and archaeological grounds. First the archaeological grounds: as stated above, Sir Leonard Woolley excavated the site and Arthur Lane published its medieval finds. Lane attributed PSS ware to PSS based on the recovery of kiln wasters there.³⁵ It is presumably due to Lane's position as a curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London that a certain number of the more complete PSS bowls from these excavations ended up in that museum's collections. The Victoria and Albert Museum generously allowed us to sample eight of these bowls. INAA analysis placed seven of the eight bowls from Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina in the same chemical group, our Group 2. Only one (Fig. 35: III-J) pertained to a different group, Group 3.

The analysis of ceramics from excavations at Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina combined with Lane's statement regarding production of PSS sgraffito wares there to cause us to assign this group to PSS itself. Stylistic criteria support this conclusion. Two bowls with decoration depicting seated cupbearers, similarly drawn, were tested, one found at Kinet, one at PSS (Figs 13: II-C and 29: II-SS). Both belong to Group 2. Likewise, two bowls with centric knotted decoration and hatched backgrounds, one from Kinet, one from PSS (Figs 21: II-CC and 26: II-MM) both also belong to Group 2. Figure 13: II-F, found at Kinet, bears a decoration in a technique rarely encountered at Kinet: an applied boss with a molded or stamped human face. Bowls with similar decoration were recovered from PSS.³⁶

In addition to these individual similarities, PSS ceramics found at PSS and at Kinet tend to exhibit both more complex iconography and more skilled execution of decoration than those we assign to local production at Kinet. This is not an airtight argument: Figure 50: IV-WW, which belongs to Group 4, our candidate for local production at or near Kinet, bears a complex, well-drawn figure of a knight on horseback. Likewise, there are several examples in Group 2 that are scarcely different from others in Group 4 and could hardly be called well-drawn or iconographically sophisticated (e.g. Figs 13: II-D and 18: II-S).

³⁵ Lane 1937, p. 45. Tasha Vorderstrasse completed a dissertation at the University of Chicago on al-Mina after our research and writing were completed (*A Port of Antioch Under Byzantium, Islam, and the Crusades: Acculturation and Differentiation at al-Mina, A.D. 350–1268*). We would like to thank her for answering several questions regarding Woolley's excavation during the course of her research and writing.

³⁶ Lane 1937, pl. XXVI, D & E.

Be that as it may, Group 2 contains more examples of well-executed design and complex subject matter than Group 4. Examples of this include vegetal decoration **Fig. 25: II-LL**,³⁷ birds (**Figs 19: II-V** and **19: II-Y**) and composite beasts (**Figs. 19: II-W** and **24: II KK**).³⁸ For this and other reasons, it seems consistent on stylistic and iconographic grounds to assign the most famous piece of PSS ceramics, the Dumbarton Oaks amphora (**Fig. 30: II-UUa** and **31: II-UUb**), to Port Saint Symeon itself. Chemically, too, it belongs to Group 2. Its complex iconography of composite creatures is consistent with PSS local production, as is the skill employed in drawing the scenes.

While most of PSS ceramic production consisted of bowls, closed forms (jugs, amphorae) were also manufactured. The shape of the Dumbarton Oaks amphora resembles a closed form vessel recovered at PSS.³⁹ Another member of Group 2, **Figure 17: II-O**, is also an amphora with neck, rim, and handles similar to the Dumbarton Oaks amphora. In fact, while Group 2 contains several examples of closed-form vessels, Group 4 contains none.

Another well-known piece of PSS ware is a fragmentary bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and exhibited in the recent “Glory of Byzantium” exhibition, **Figure 23: II-HH**. The sgraffito decoration on the interior of this bowl displays a horse and rider. This bowl also pertains to our Group 2.⁴⁰

Group 2 ceramics, like their ‘country cousins’ in Group 4, were, with two exceptions discussed below, recovered from the ultimate and penultimate occupation phases at Kinet, which date to the last 2 decades of the 13th century and first decade of the 14th century. This supports Day’s assertion that sgraffito ceramics were produced at PSS/al-Mina after the Mamluk conquest of the Principality of Antioch in 1268. However, it also calls into question the whole issue of PSS ware, and whether it can rightfully be attributed to the Frankish Principality of Antioch at all. It also disagrees with Day’s use of stylistic criteria as chronological indicators: the finer style of Port Saint Symeon is coeval with the bolder, simpler one of the Kinet region. Since Port Saint Symeon seems to have been excavated on a grand scale and only sketchily documented, it may be impossible to date the beginning of PSS ware production there. Given the wide recovery of PSS

³⁷ *cf.* this with Lane 1937, pl. XXII, pl. 2 B.

³⁸ Compare the body of **Fig. II W** and the drawing and the placement near the rim of the foot of **Fig. 24: II-KK** with the composite creature on a bowl found at PSS, at present in the British Museum, and illustrated in Sevchenko 1974, pl. Ill. 13.

³⁹ Lane 1937, p. 47, fig. 8:L.

⁴⁰ Maguire 1997, p. 401, catalogue no. 268.

ceramics from 13th century levels at Frankish and other sites around the Mediterranean, it seems reasonable to posit that ceramic production at Port Saint Symeon itself of PSS ware did actually begin in the early 13th century. However, the recovery of small numbers of PSS sherds from late 12th century levels at Kinet (Phase 1), points to a lag between the local production of this ware and its popularization and dissemination.

Complete analysis of all of the Kinet medieval ceramics has yet to be accomplished, so other, earlier examples of PSS production may still be recovered. But of the corpus analyzed, only two sherds predated the uppermost two levels at Kinet. One is in the phase immediately preceding (Fig. 17: II-M), but one (Fig. 22: II-FF) belongs to the first level of occupation at Kinet, sometime in the mid to late 12th century. That bowl is *not* incised: its decoration is green and yellow and in smeared lines of green glaze. In shape, it resembles the bowls of Group 3, one of which was also found in the earliest medieval occupation level. This indicates that ceramics were produced at PSS at the same time as, or before, the production of sgraffito PSS wares there.

Groups 3 and 5

Group 3 is the smallest of the four main chemical groups, with only 11 members. It consists almost entirely of monochrome glazed bowls, with the addition of two glazed lamps and one of the Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina sgraffito bowls (Fig. 35: III-J). Together with Group 5 and the many statistical outliers (not reproduced in this study) it provides evidence for many production centers of PSS ceramics in addition to the two adduced for Port Saint Symeon/al-Mina itself and the Kinet region. It also furnishes evidence, along with Groups 1, 2, and 4, for the production of different types of ceramics using the same clay sources. The chemistry of Groups 3 and 5, with their high concentrations of calcium and chromium, might indicate that these production center was also somewhere along this stretch of the Cilician coast. The members of Group 3 found at Kinet all came from the two uppermost occupation levels, with the exception of Figure 34: III-H, which was found in the earliest, 12th century occupation of the site.

Group 5 contains only three examples, all sgraffito, of the tri-color Port Saint Symeon variety with known decoration. Figure 54: V-C is the only unprovenienced member of this group, and is found in the David Collection. It has a slightly different profile and exterior slip painted decoration. Its decoration is paralleled by another, unpublished example from the latest occupation level at Kinet.

Group 4: Kinet Regional Production

Group 4 is the largest of the chemical groups. In the upper medieval levels, the site was awash in PSS ceramics, so excavators postulated the existence of local production well before definitive evidence was recovered. As stated above, we assign this group to the Kinet region based on three pieces of kiln furniture and two wasters. One of the pieces of kiln furniture, a clay trivet (**Fig. 51: IV-YY**) and the two wasters were found in adjacent excavation units during the 1997 season. The wasters (**Figs 52: IV-AAA and 47: IV-OO**) one a body sherd, and one a base, had been bisque fired, slipped, incised, but not glazed or glaze fired. These established local production and, when sampled, the chemical signature for that production. Since wasters and trivet were all found on the east terrace at Kinet, it was supposed that production took place there, sheltered by the mound from the prevailing sea breeze. However, a trivet was also found in wash on the northern slope near the top of the mound in 1999, indicating that production may have taken place on top of the mound, too. No kiln has been recovered to date at Kinet.

Prof. Jennifer Tobin of the University of Illinois, when visiting the neighboring site of Epiphaneia/Kanisat al-Sawda some 20 kilometers north of Kinet, uncovered more evidence of medieval ceramic production in the region. In the area surrounding the ruins of the Roman bath there, she noted many sherds of PSS ceramics as well as kiln rods. With the permission of the Turkish Ministry of Culture representative, we collected 3 sherds and one kiln rod from Epiphaneia for analysis. Of these 4 samples, 3 (the kiln rod **Fig. 51: IV-XX**, and **Figs 46: IV-EE and 38: IV-E**) belong to Group 4. The fourth is an outlier not illustrated here. Because PSS ceramic production at both Kinet and Epiphaneia seem to have used a similar if not the same clay source, we identify Group 4 by the name of 'Kinet regional production'.

The sherds from Epiphaneia conform to local Kinet production stylistically as well as chemically. Group 4 ceramics tend to use the same vegetal, geometrical, and figural motifs as those in Group 2, but by and large the decoration is more deeply and widely incised and simpler. This local production also included monochrome glazed bowls and incised and glazed tiles (which were also found at PSS). **Figure 52: IV-CCC and IV-DDD** are tiles typical of Kinet production, with the same banded interlace pattern found on many Group 4 ceramics. **Figure 51: IV-ZZ**, like the knight depicted on **Figure 50: IV-WW**, shows that Kinet potters were capable of more complex figural imagery. **Figure 51: IV-ZZ** consists of fragments of a tile probably depicting a battle scene, with a horse and a standing figure carrying a shield.

Lane noted the decoration on PSS ceramics to be “curiously lacking in Christian symbolism”; despite the presence of bowls with decoration of incised shields, very few of these bore crosses.⁴¹ The same observation can be made of the ceramics in Group 4. As at PSS, birds are commonly depicted. However, it is difficult to assign them any iconographic significance. Those bowls whose iconography can be assayed bear abbreviated astrological imagery (Fig. 37: IV-D), or other symbols of fortune, power, and luck. These are polyvalent: they could have appealed to a wide variety of peoples and cultures.⁴²

As stated above, production of PSS ceramics at or near Kinet was confined to the last two phases of medieval occupation, the late 13th and early 14th centuries. PSS ceramics have been found at Kinet dating from the very beginning of the medieval sequence, but those sampled in this study and pertaining to this group were all from the uppermost occupation levels.

Conclusion

Writing about the PSS/al-Mina excavations in 1937, Lane had the following to say concerning the relation between archaeologically derived finds, the art market, and museum collections:

“The great majority of the finds consisted of broken pottery and glass. Very few pieces could be completely restored, but the value of this material should not be underestimated on that account. For many years past the European market has been flooded with pottery from the Near East, furtively excavated by peasants and dealers who were naturally unwilling to betray the exact locality and context of their finds so long as there remained a chance of making further profit. As a result, our museums are full of superb works of Islamic Art whose date and provenance must remain unknown until comparable material has been brought to light in scientifically conducted excavations. A few apparently insignificant fragments, the debris left round an ancient kiln, can be surer guides to the classification of early Islamic pottery than any number of better-preserved specimens offered by a mendacious or misinformed dealer.”⁴³

Almost 70 years old, these words in many ways seem relevant, and in others outmoded. Certainly their training permitted archaeologists at the al-Mina excavations to note the presence of kiln wasters. However, the scale

⁴¹ Lane 1937, p. 50.

⁴² Redford 2004, pp. 298–300.

⁴³ Lane 1937, p. 27.

of the excavation, its perfunctory recording, and seeming unstratigraphic nature strike us as *unscientific*. Likewise, the need for context and provenance remains an urgent one, but Lane's blaming of dealers for depredation and inaccurate information without acknowledging the role of European collections and collectors in the antiquities trade seems disingenuous at the very least.

In this study we have attempted to straddle the same divide deplored by Lane: the divide between fragmentary objects with secure archaeological context and better preserved ones in museums with no context whatsoever. We have also tried to combine different branches of knowledge, archaeological, art historical, and chemical, to show the value of collaboration in beginning to address larger issues of importance to scholars in many different disciplines. One of these has to do with the period of the Crusades, traditionally the preserve of western European medieval historians. Lane, a curator, was in search of "superb works of Islamic Art" at al-Mina. Instead, he found fragmentary vessels whose style and iconography referred to, but were not a part of, medieval Islamic civilization. He, too, as we do in this article, looked to the Italian maritime republics for part of the explanation to the problem of Port Saint Symeon ware. Yet, in his attempt to tie together neatly the archaeological and historical records, he ignored the possibility, first proposed by Florence Day, that PSS ceramics continued to be produced after the fall of PSS to the Muslims.

A similar situation applies at Kinet, where production of ceramics and trade between Armenians, Franks, and Muslims is punctuated with sacking and burning of the medieval settlement. The hybridity of culture along the shores of the Levant was expressed in many ways, and it was a tenuous one.

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Ceramic Descriptions

Note: the illustrations in this article omit the shading and stippling that would convey a sense of the splashing and dripping of green and brown glaze over the incised design that is such a feature of Port Saint Symeon ware. If it is present, this splashing is mentioned in the description of the vessel. As is, only incised (sgraffito) decoration, and glaze and slip lines on the exterior of vessels, are indicated graphically.

All pieces illustrated are given a fabric color of Orange, Red Brown, or Brown. These correspond generally to Munsell Soil Chart numbers 7.5 YR 7/8 and 6/8 (Orange), 2.5 YR 6/6 and 6/5 5YR 6/6 and 5/6 (Red Brown) and 10YR 6/3, 6/4, 5/3 and 5/4 7.5 YR 5/3, 5/4 6/3 and 6/4 (Brown).

The ceramics are grouped according to the main chemical groups to which they pertain: Groups 1 to 5. Unless otherwise indicated, all ceramics derive from medieval level excavations at Kinet.

GROUP 1

1A Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime and vegetal inclusions. Exterior: overall white slip. Interior: white slip; gouged centrifform radiating decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1B Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: overall white slip under yellowish clear glaze. Interior: white slip; gouged curvilinear decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1C Monochrome bowl rim sherd. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; gouged curvilinear design under yellowish clear glaze.

1D Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: overall white slip. Interior: white slip; gouged centrifform decoration with radiating lines with pendant-like appendages under clear yellowish glaze.

1E Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with gross lime inclusions. Exterior: overall thin white slip. Interior: white slip; gouged centrifform radiating decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1F Monochrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: diluted overall white slip. Heavily applied white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated. Spur mark just below rim. Interior: white slip; gouged centrifform of arthropodic inspiration under yellowish clear glaze.

1G Monochrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: overall white slip. Clear glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip; finely incised decoration under clear glaze.

1H Monochrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: overall white slip. Clear glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip; finely incised decoration under clear glaze.

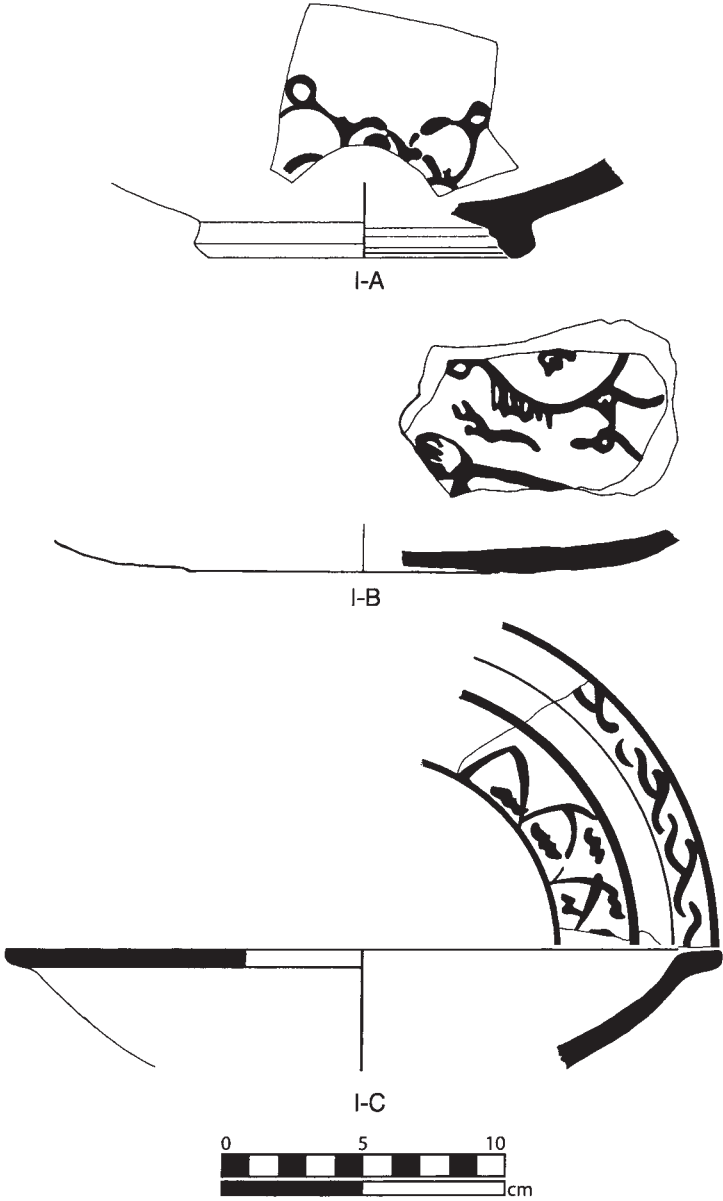


Figure 2 Group I

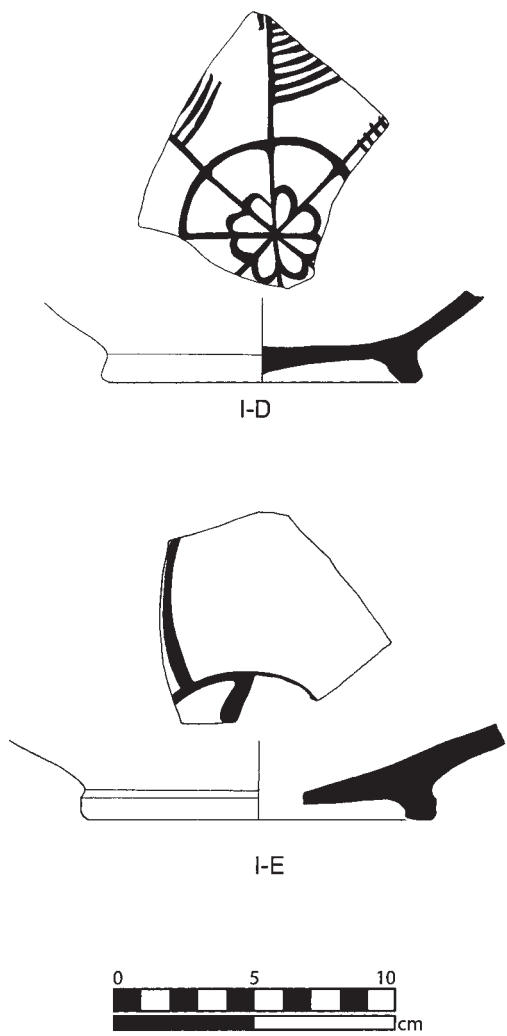


Figure 3 Group I

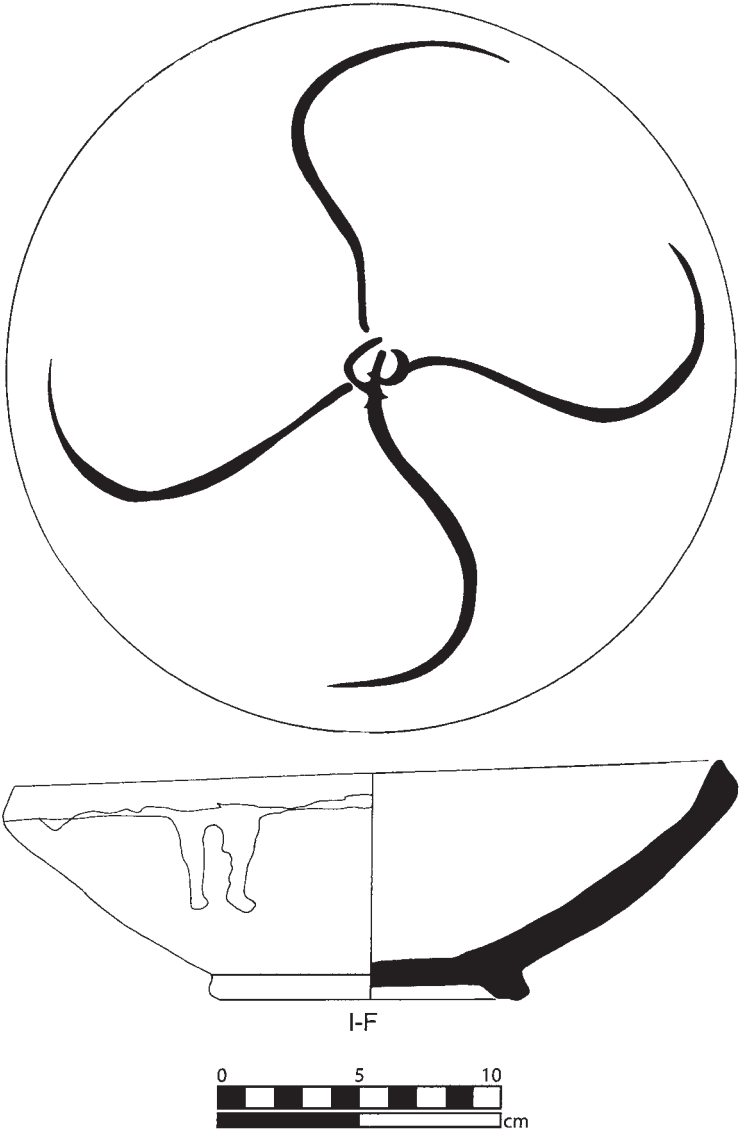


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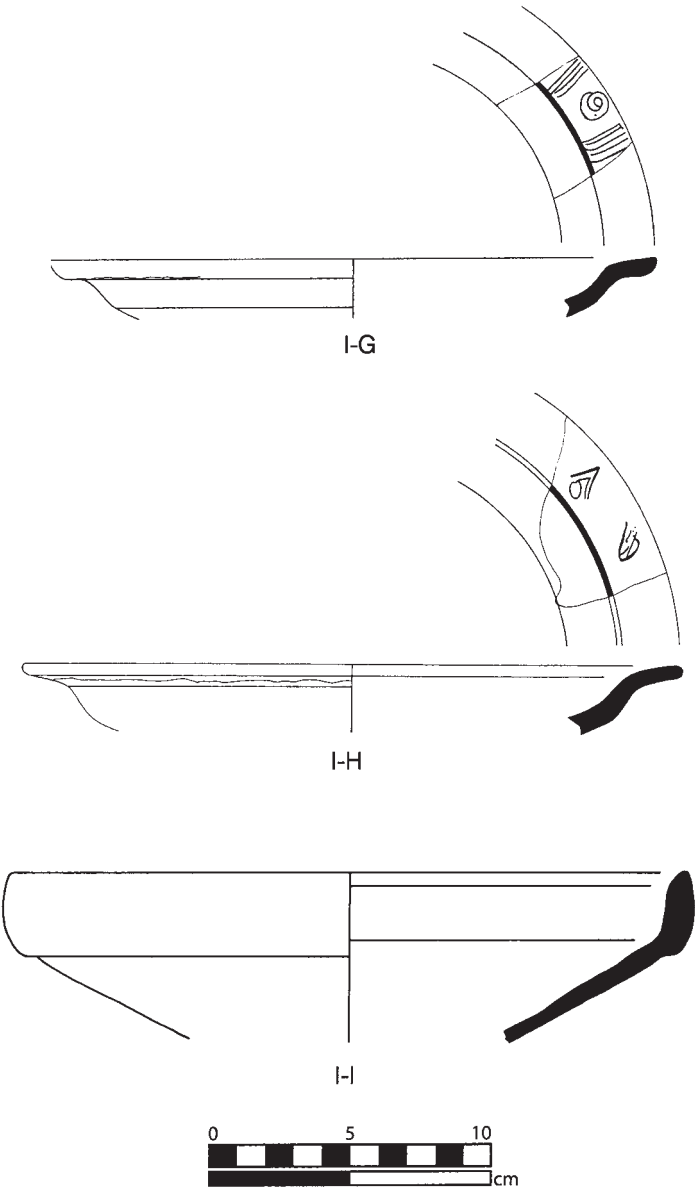


Figure 5 Group I

1I Monochrome bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: diluted overall white slip. Heavily applied white slip and yellowish clear glaze to rim indentation. Interior: white slip under yellowish clear glaze.

1J Monochrome sgraffito bowl body sherd. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: overall white slip. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze.

1K Monochrome sgraffito bowl body sherd. Red orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1L Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: scratched lines. Interior: cream slip; incised medallion under greenish clear glaze.

1M Monochrome sgraffito bowl body sherd. Orange fabric. Exterior: blob of cream slip at top of sherd. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear design and bird head under clear glaze.

1N Tricolor sgraffito bowl body sherd. Orange fabric. Exterior: overall white slip. Interior: white slip; incised banded curvilinear decoration under clear glaze with splashes of black and green (stippled) glaze.

1O Monochrome sgraffito bowl. Red brown fabric. Exterior: diluted overall white slip to line below rim. Heavily applied white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated near rim. Interior: lightly applied white slip; gouged design with fish and more lightly incised curlicue below rim under clear glaze.

1P Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: overall white slip. Interior: white slip; incised bird's head under yellowish clear glaze.

1Q Monochrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip thick to line below rim and thin on rest of body. Yellowish clear glaze to line below rim. Interior: white slip; gouged decoration in shape of fish and curvilinear form under yellowish clear glaze.

1R Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Hard orange fabric. Exterior overall cream slip and clear glaze. Interior: cream slip; incised torso, arm, and hand of chain-mailed warrior under clear glaze.

1S Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Hard orange fabric. Exterior: overall cream slip. Interior: cream slip; incised design (bird tail?) under clear glaze.

1T Monochrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated at rim. Interior: white slip; incised bird's head and beak under clear glaze.

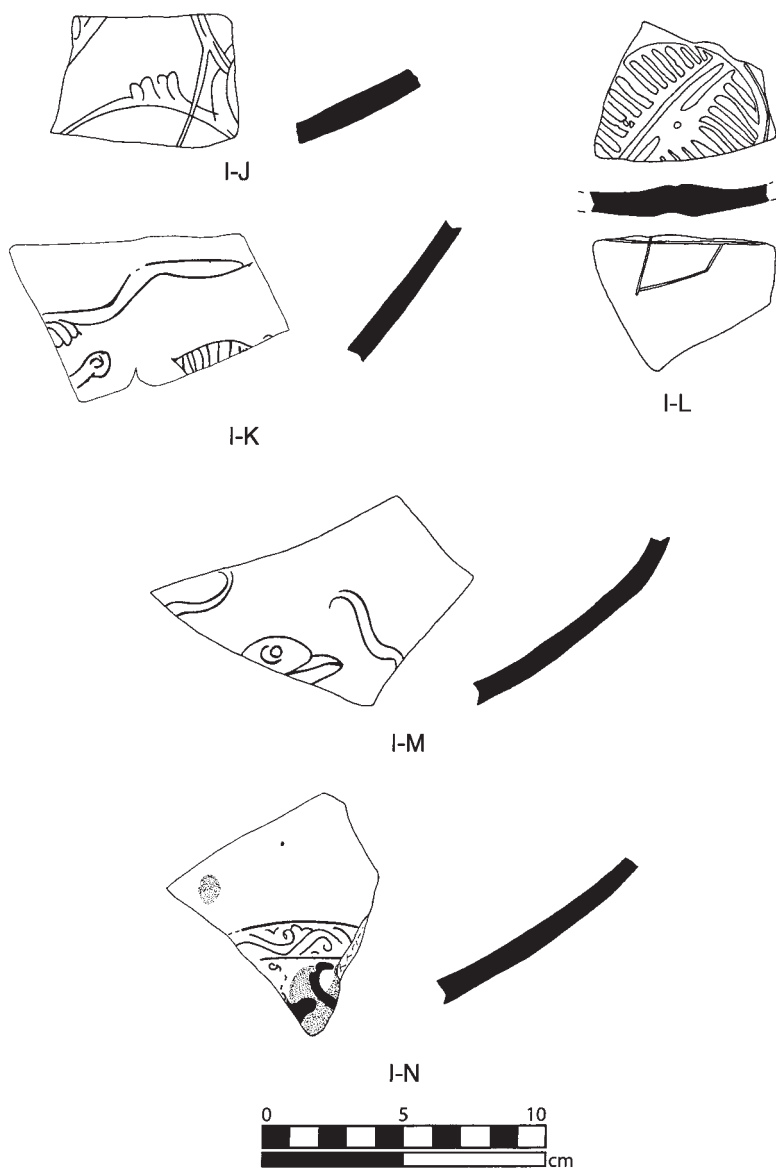


Figure 6 Group I

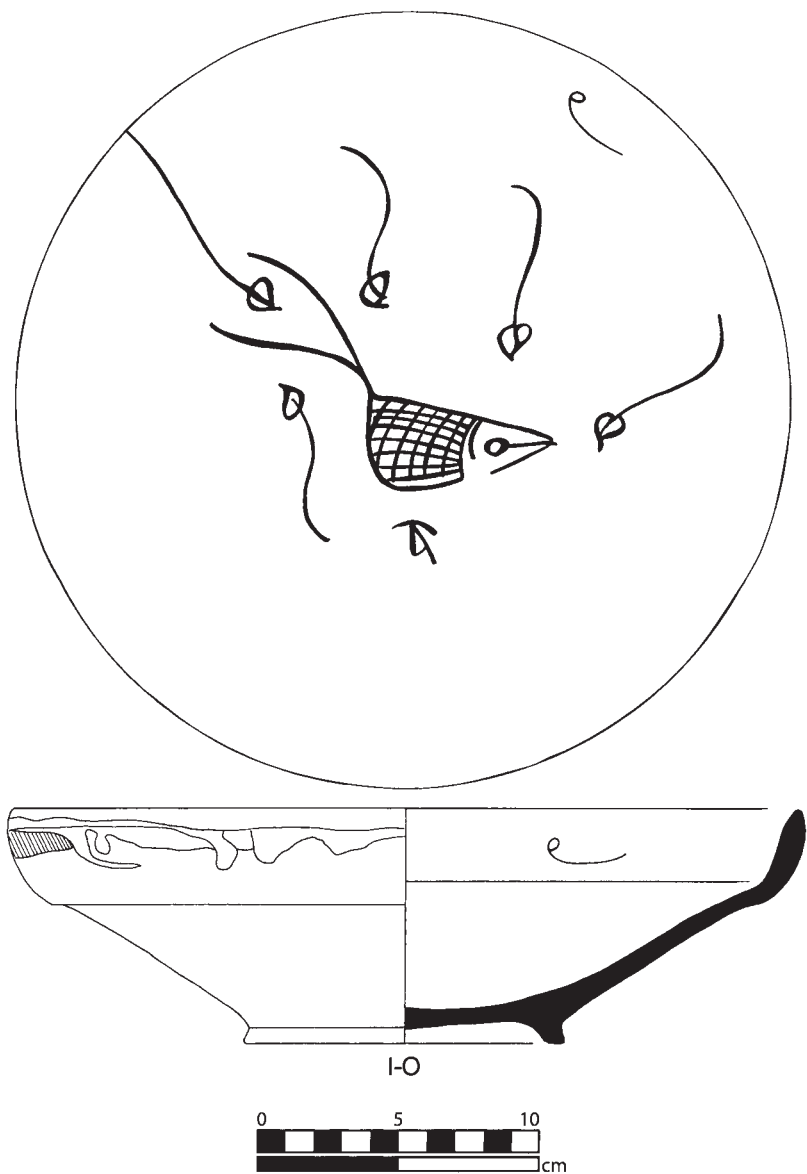


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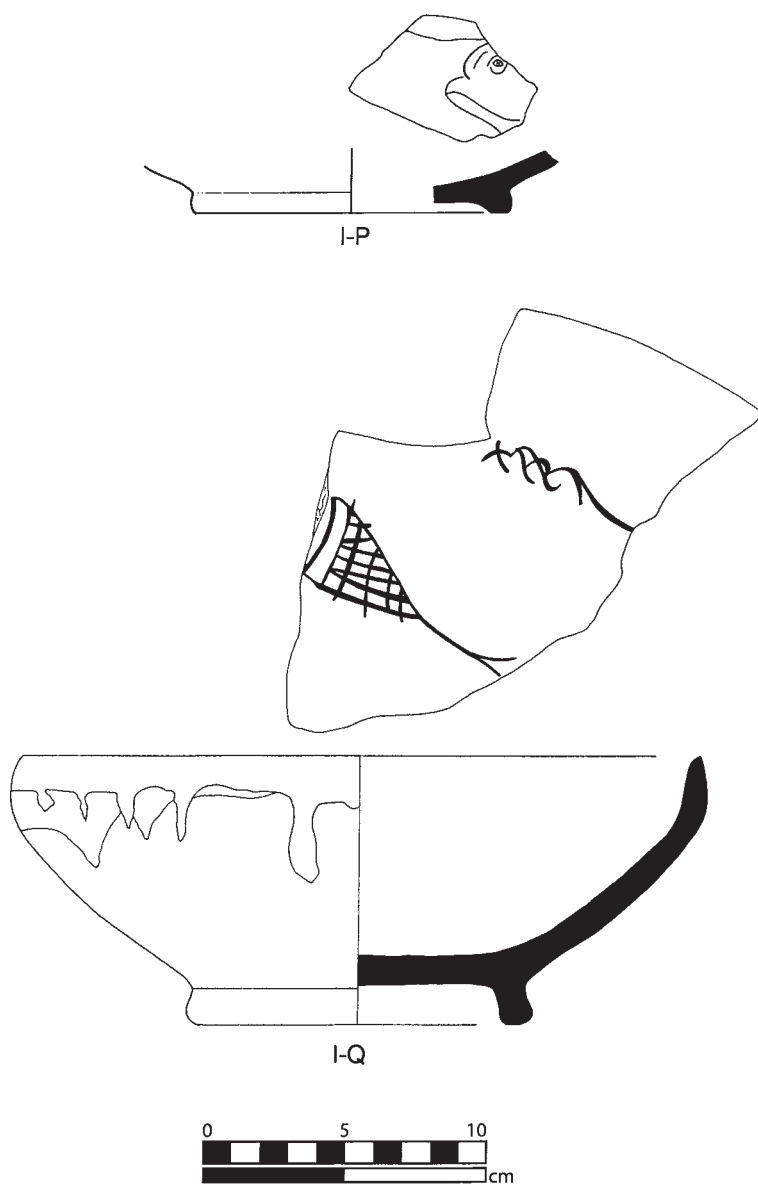


Figure 8 Group I

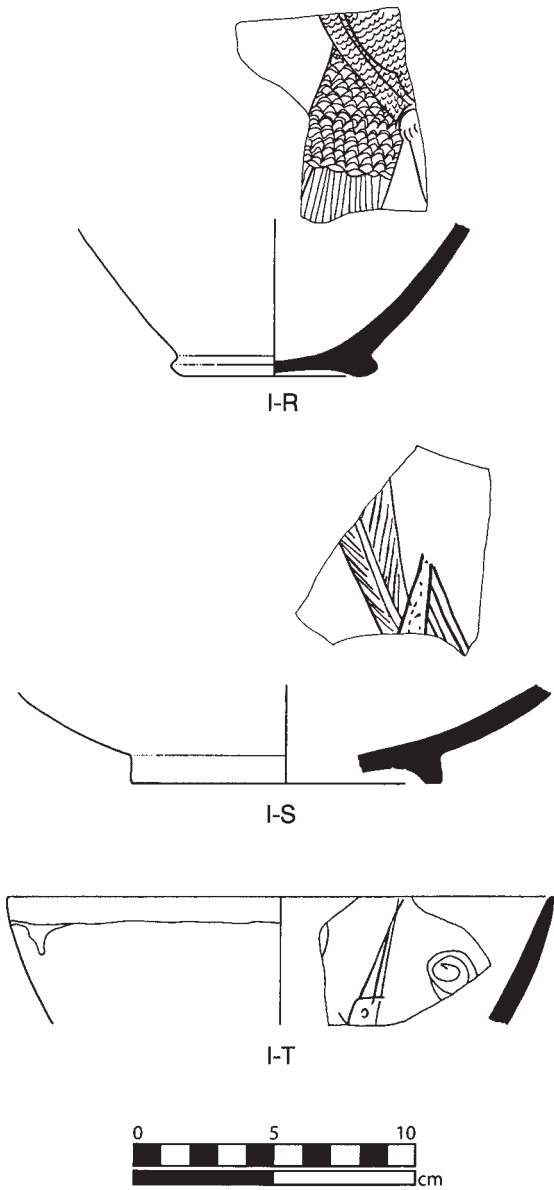


Figure 9 Group I

1U Bowl base. Dark orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: curvilinear cream slip-painted decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1V Bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip-painted curvilinear decoration under clear glaze. Glaze is greenish in those areas not over slip-painted decoration.

1W Monochrome bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: overall diluted white slip. Thick white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated below rim. Interior: thick white slip under clear glaze.

1X Monochrome champlévé bowl body sherd. Orange fabric. Exterior: diluted white slip under clear glaze. Interior: white slip; champlévé decoration under clear, yellowish glaze.

1Y Body sherd. Dark orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip-painted curvilinear decoration under clear glaze.

1Z Bowl body sherd. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: two dribbles of brown glaze (not indicated). Interior: curvilinear cream slip-painted decoration turns light green under clear, brown glaze.

1AA Bowl base. Dark orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; champlévé decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1BB Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Hard orange fabric. Exterior: allover white slip. Interior: white slip; incised decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

1CC Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Hard orange fabric. Exterior: allover white slip. Interior: white slip; incised design of bird and curvilinear decoration under yellowish clear glaze.

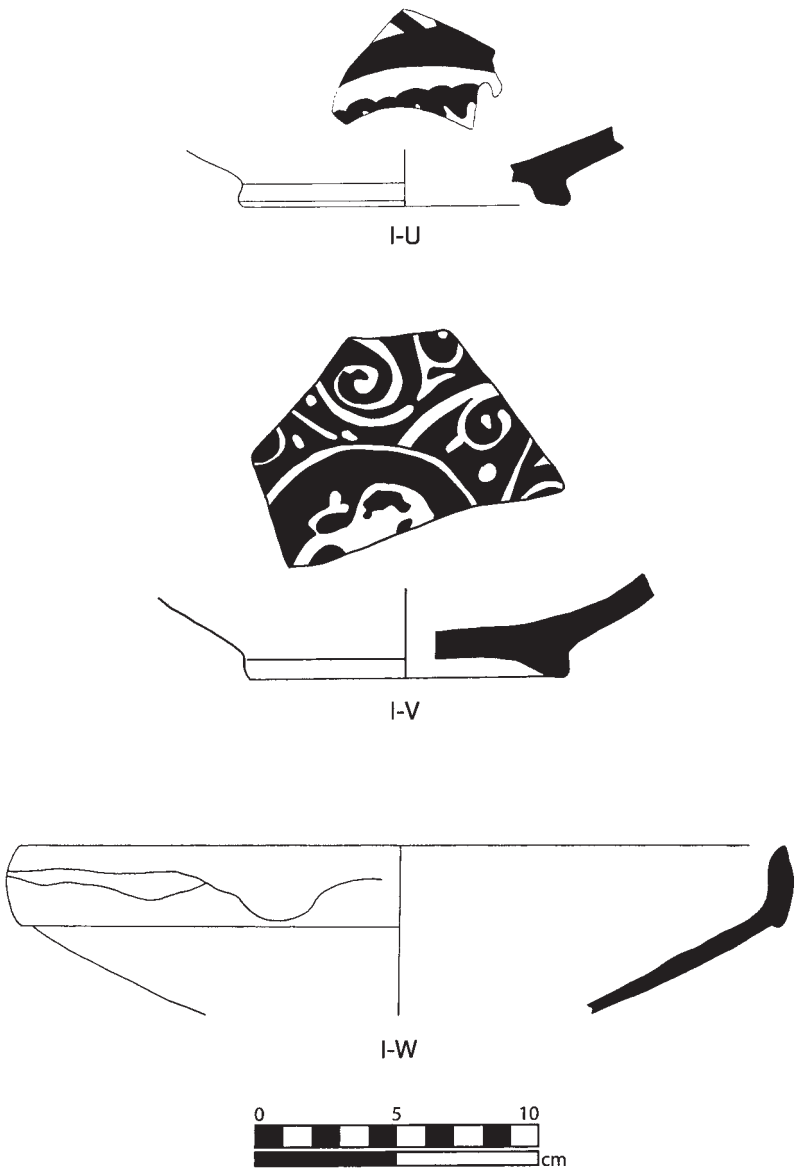


Figure 10 Group I

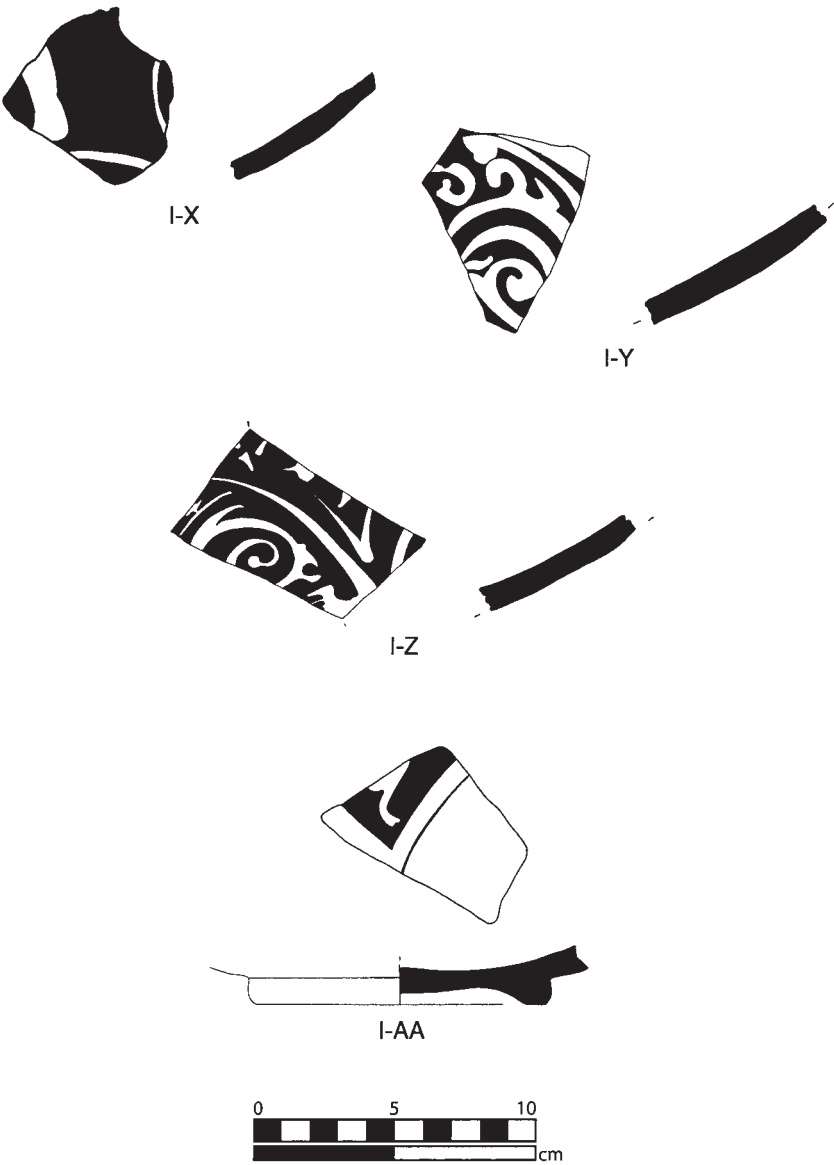
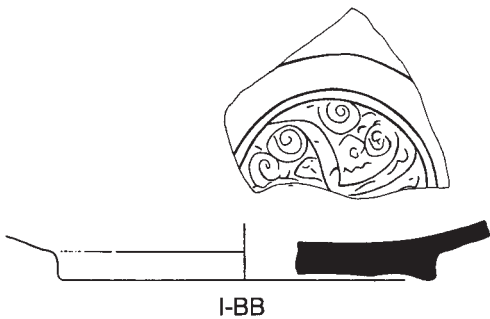
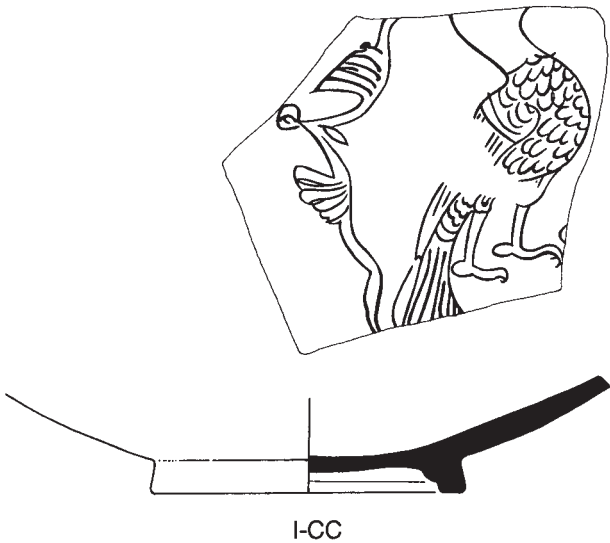


Figure 11 Group I



I-BB



I-CC

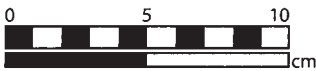


Figure 12 Group I

GROUP 2

2A Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised centriform curvilinear design under greenish clear glaze.

2B Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised centriform stellate decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splashed with brown and green glaze.

2C Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised seated figure proffering cup. Bottle to figure's left. Clear glaze, with area around figure daubed with brown and green glaze.

2D Polychrome sgraffito bowl body sherd. Light brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip. Interior: cream slip; incised face under clear glaze splashed with spots of green and brown glaze.

2E Monochrome sgraffito bowl body sherd (larger bowl likely polychrome). Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised human face under clear, yellowish glaze.

2F Monochrome bowl rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip; molded boss with human face at slight angle under green glaze. Interior: white slip; green glaze.

2G Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric thickly potted. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear banded design under greenish white glaze. Brown glazed line at edge of body cavity, green glazed line at edge of vessel.

2H Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip under clear glaze to lines indicated at rim. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear designs under clear glaze. Designs partially infilled with alternating daubs of green and brown glaze.

2I Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines indicated at rim. Interior: cream slip; banded, incised geometric decoration under clear glaze. Design painted with splotches of green and brown glaze.

2J Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear banded design under greenish-white glaze. Brown glazed line at edge of body cavity; green line at edge of vessel.

2K Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze line at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised radial decoration under clear glaze with splashes of brown and green glaze.

2L Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and yellow-brown glaze to lines indicated below rim. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze. Sloppy reserve painting in diluted brown and green glaze.

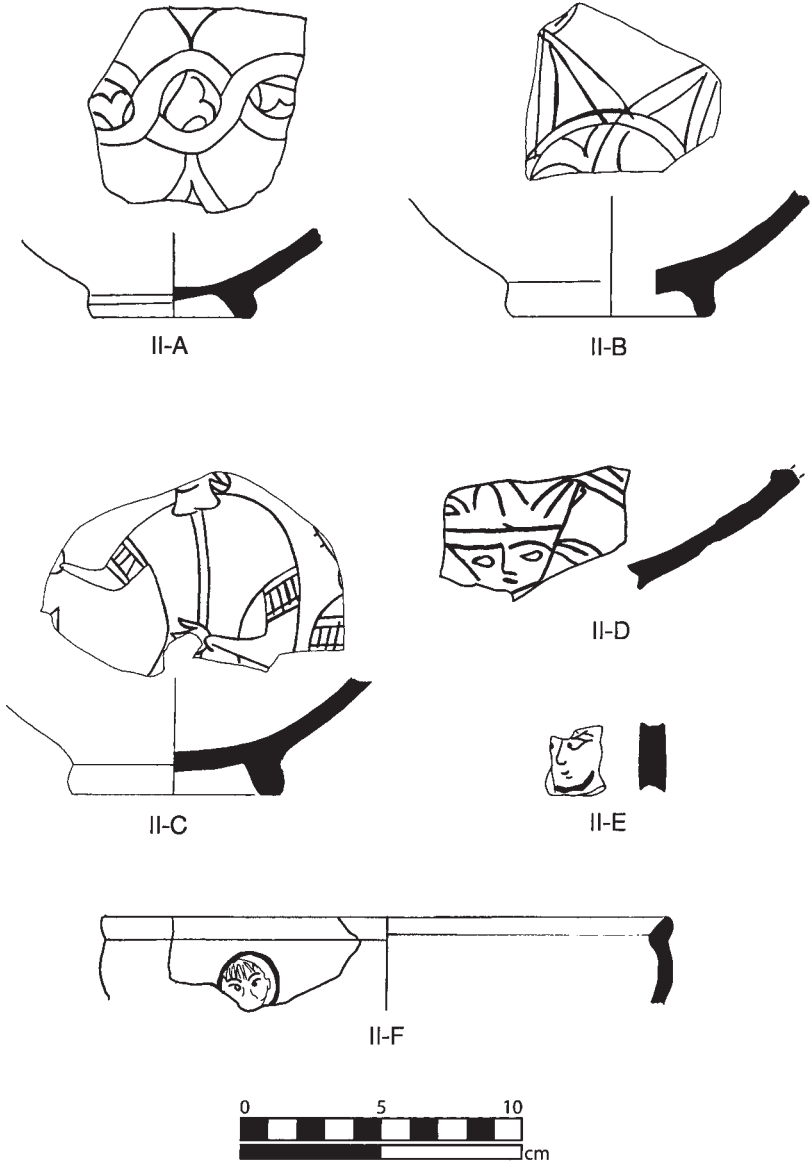


Figure 13 Group II

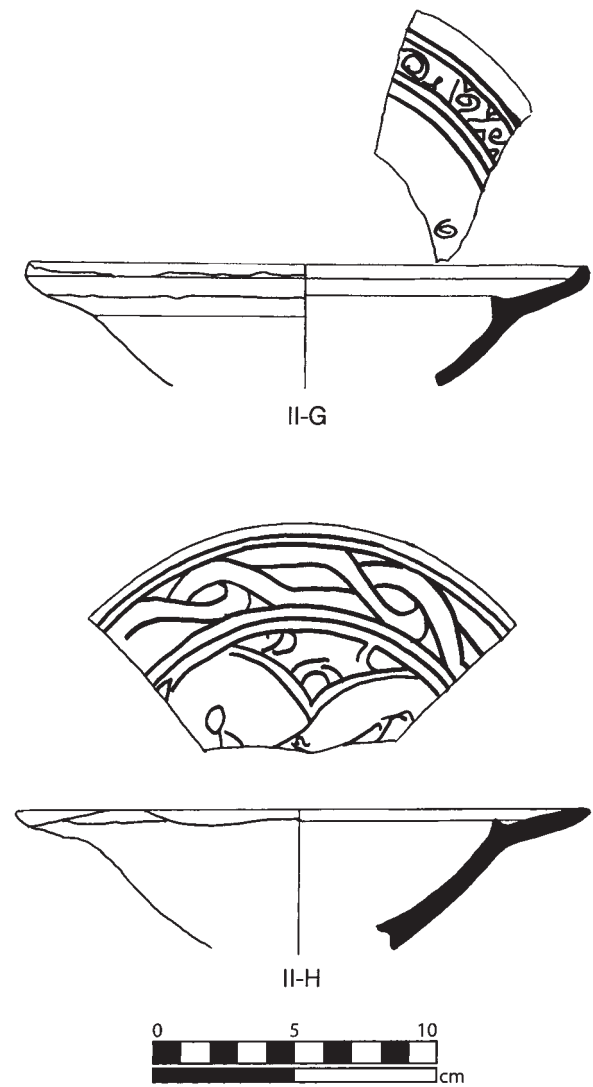


Figure 14 Group II

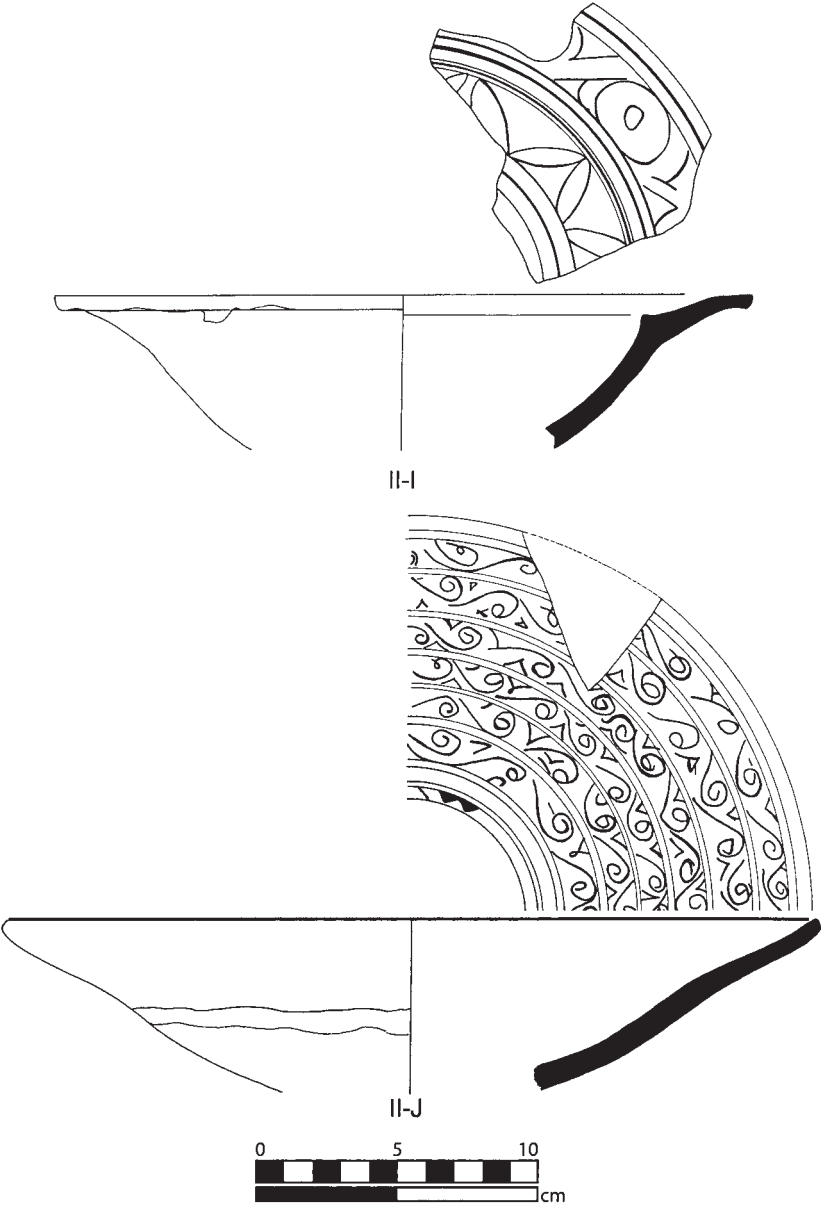


Figure 15 Group II

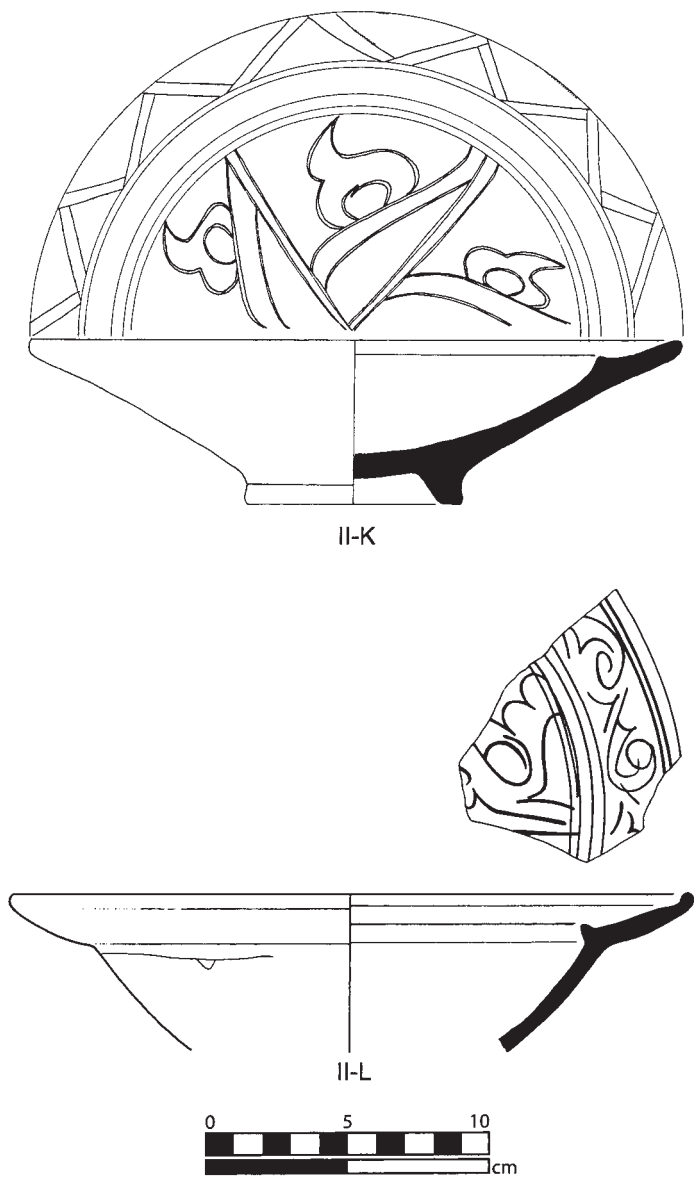


Figure 16 Group II

2M Monochrome sgraffito jug neck. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip; incised banded curvilinear decoration under greenish clear glaze. Interior: unglazed.

2N Monochrome sgraffito jug rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip; incised banded curvilinear decoration under greenish clear glaze. Interior: cream slip to line indicated near rim.

2O Polychrome sgraffito jug rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip; incised banded curvilinear decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splashed with green and brown glaze. Interior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines at rim.

2P Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip; green glaze blob on interior of ring base. Interior: white slip; incised centrifform rosette under clear glaze.

2Q Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric with vegetal and lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised centrifform curvilinear decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splashed with brown and green glaze roughly following its outlines.

2R Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised figural (?) decoration under clear glaze. Diluted brown glaze applied to roughly the outline of lower half of decoration.

2S Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised centrifform knot design under clear glaze. Knot compartments alternately splashed with diluted green and brown glaze.

2T Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; radial designed incised under clear glaze. Area between design elements painted alternately with green and brown glaze.

2U Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; centrifform incised decoration under clear glaze. Design elements at edges of sherd splashed with brown and green glaze. Glaze in center pocked by marks from kiln tripod (not shown).

2V Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip smear on base (not shown). Interior: white slip; incised bird under greenish clear glaze. Brown glaze painted on one leg and end of tail; green glaze painted on body.

2W Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised composite quadruped, possibly *Sagittarius*, under clear glaze. Green glaze on spotted portion of torso and brown on tufted hindquarters.

2X Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: glazed mark near base as result of stacking during firing. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze; decoration splashed with one panel of brown and one of green glaze.

2Y Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised bird under clear glaze. Bird splashed with brown and green glaze.

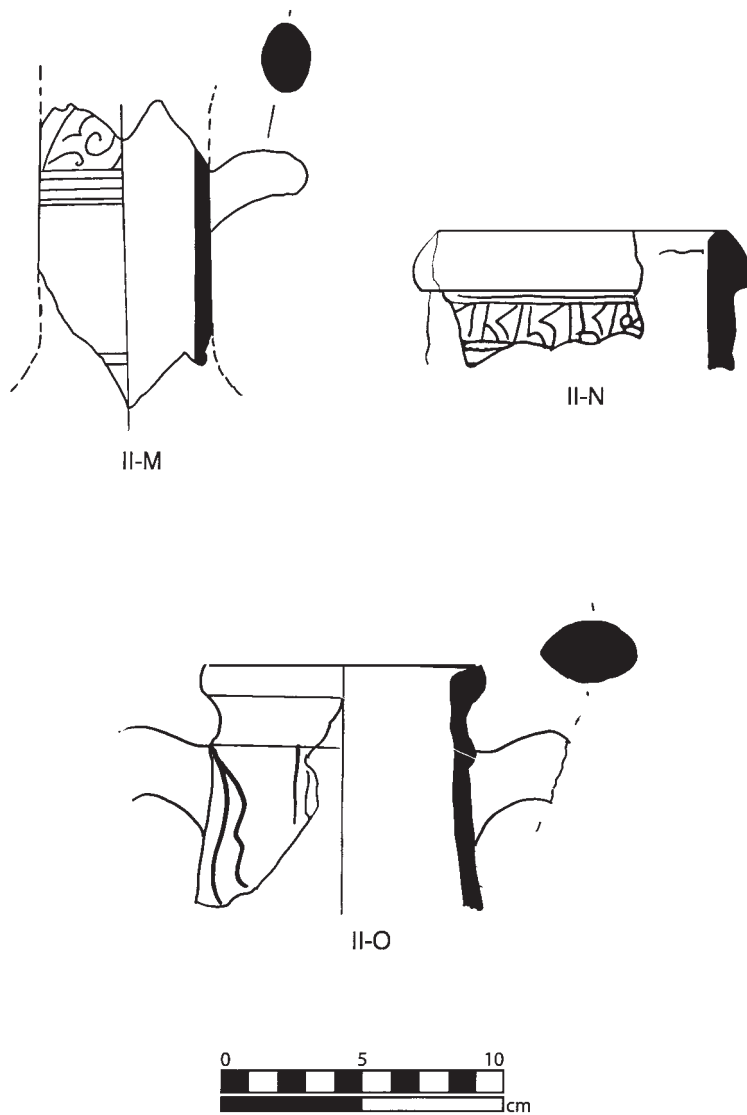


Figure 17 Group II

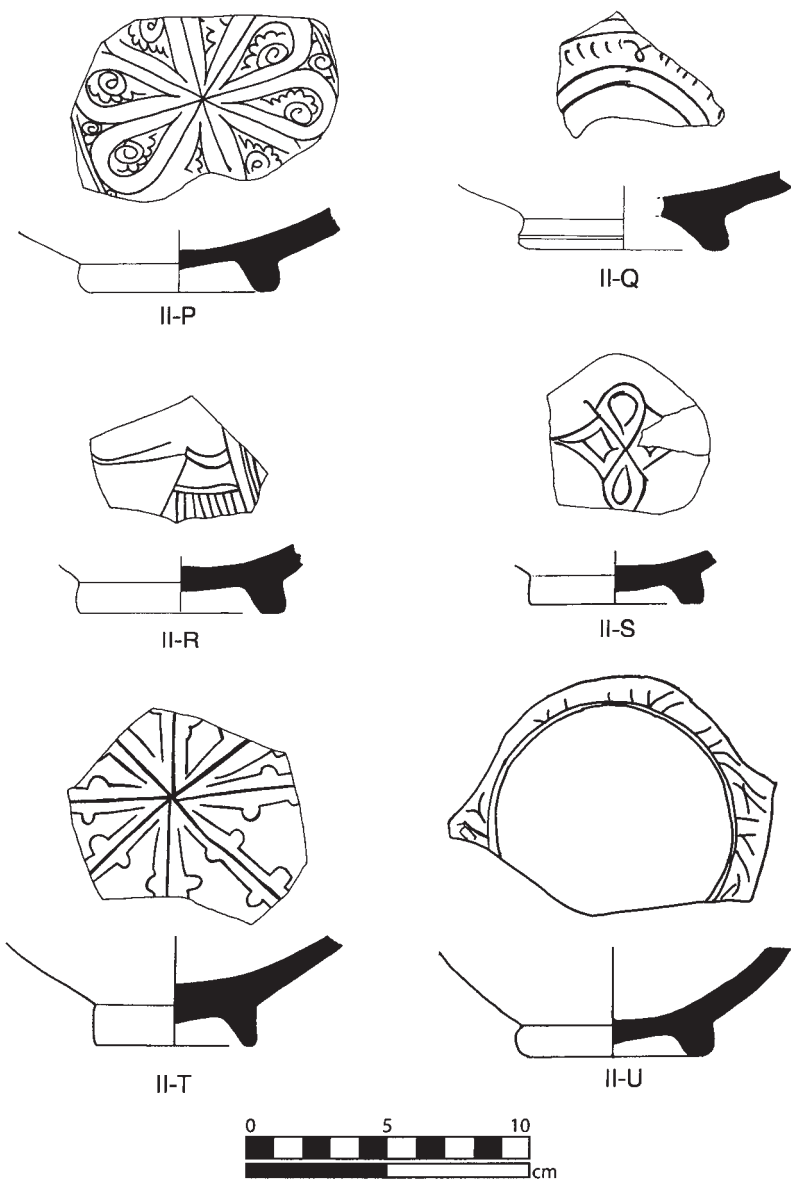


Figure 18 Group II

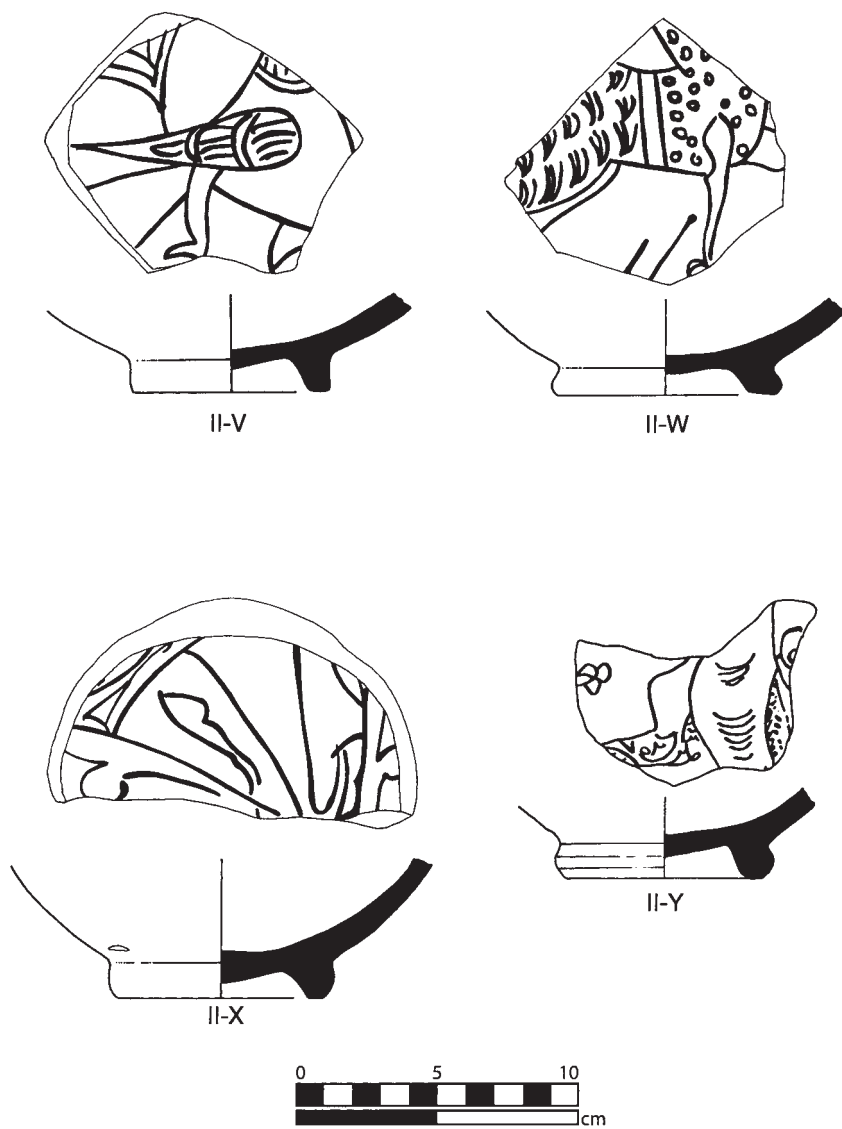


Figure 19 Group II

2Z Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip (both heavy and light; thick slip line at rim, light slip line on body) and green glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip; incised banded decoration of alternating diamonds and circles under clear glaze. Design elements splashed alternately with diluted green and brown glaze.

2AA Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and brown glaze to lines indicated. Rim displays glaze adhesion mark from kiln stacking. Interior: cream slip; incised decoration under fine clear glaze. Washes of diluted green and brown glaze.

2BB Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to line at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised banded decoration under clear glaze. Design elements splashed alternately with diluted brown and green glaze.

2CC Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised knot design under clear glaze. One knotted element roughly infilled with brown glaze, the other with green glaze.

2DD Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lines near rim. Interior: incised banded decoration under clear slip. Design elements splashed alternately with green and brown glaze.

2EE Polychrome sgraffito bowl body sherd. Thickly potted brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under greenish clear glaze. Design elements splashed with green and brown glaze. Repair hole.

2FF Bichrome glazed bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and yellowish clear glaze to line below rim. Interior: cream slip; yellowish clear glaze painted with diagonal lines of green glaze that has run.

2GG Polychrome glazed bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines just below rim. Rim tooled into 'piecrust' form. Interior: cream slip; banded geometric incised decoration under greenish clear glaze. Design elements splashed alternately with brown and green glaze.

2HH Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1984.181. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lines below rim. Interior: white slip; incised figure on horseback under clear glaze with dripped green glaze.

2II Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze line at rim. Interior: white slip; incised decoration under clear glaze with design elements splashed alternately with brown and green glaze.

2JJ Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze line at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised decoration under clear glaze with brown splashes at rim and alternating brown and green splashes over design elements.

2KK Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip under clear green glaze. Interior: white slip; incised figural decoration (composite creature) under clear glaze with splashes of yellow and green glaze. Glaze adherence marks on interior from kiln stacking.

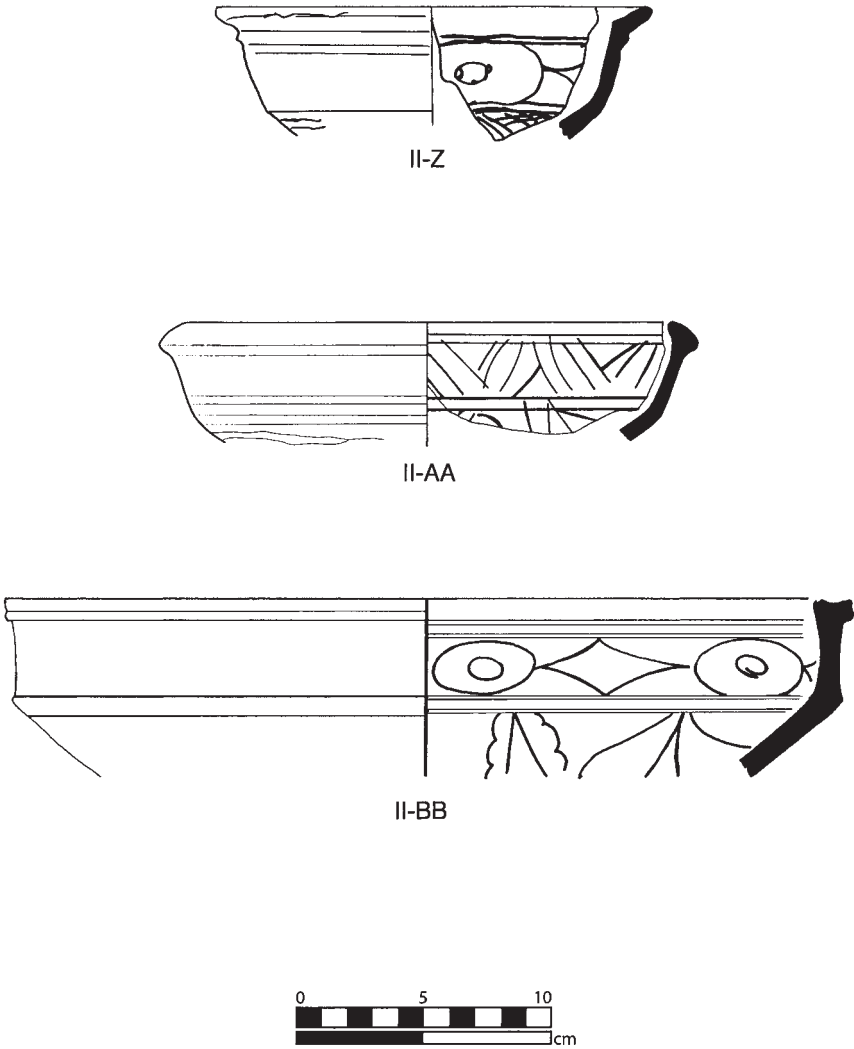


Figure 20 Group II

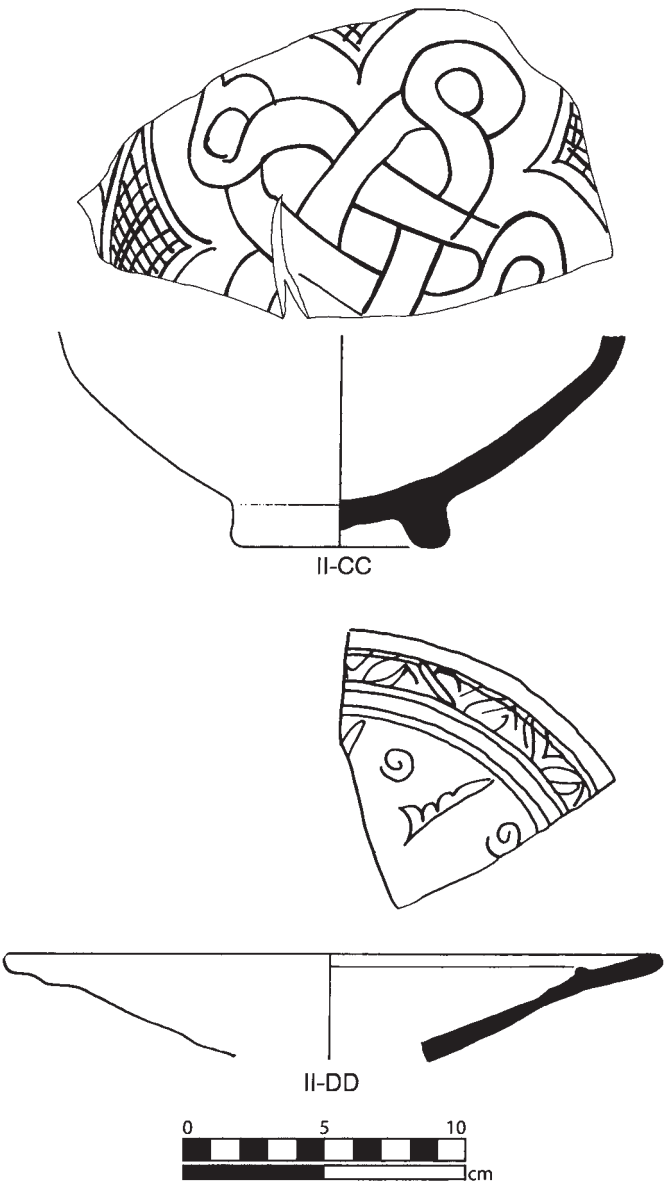


Figure 21 Group II

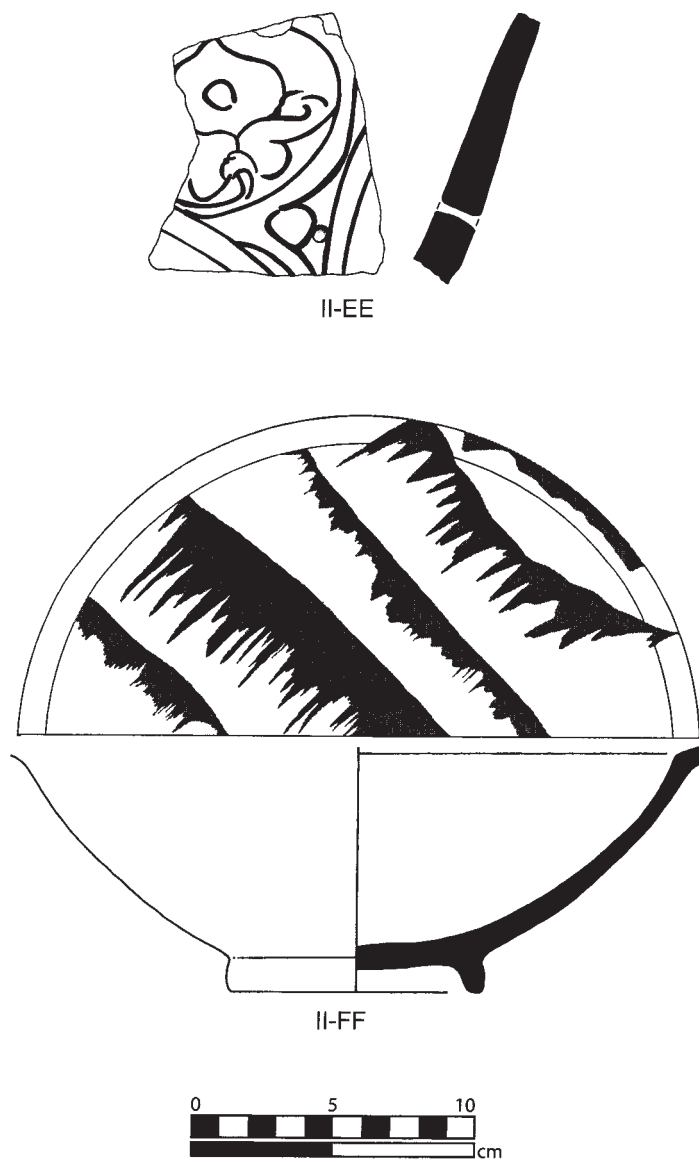


Figure 22 Group II

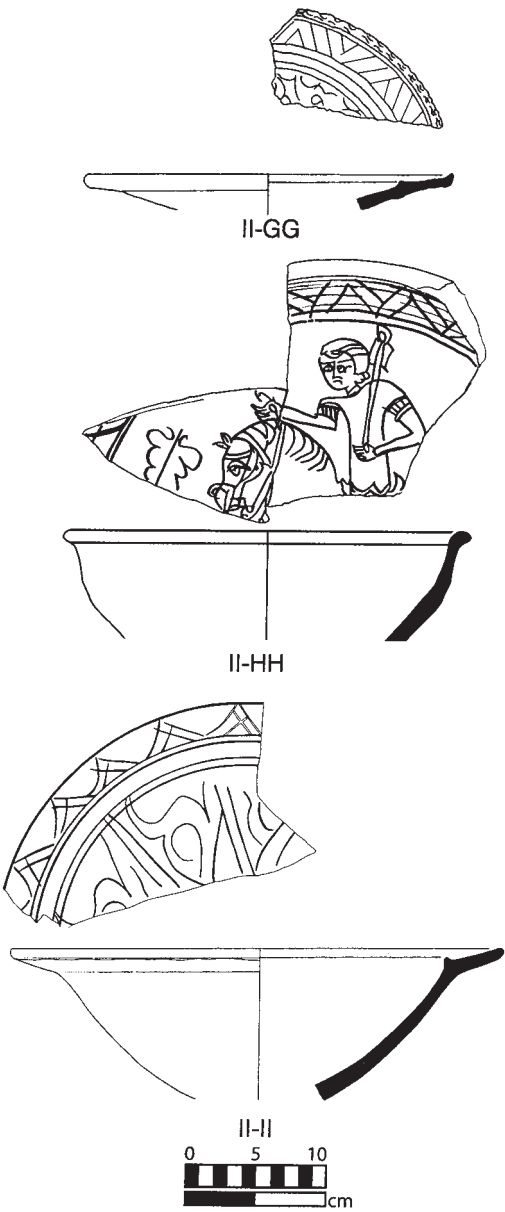


Figure 23 Group II

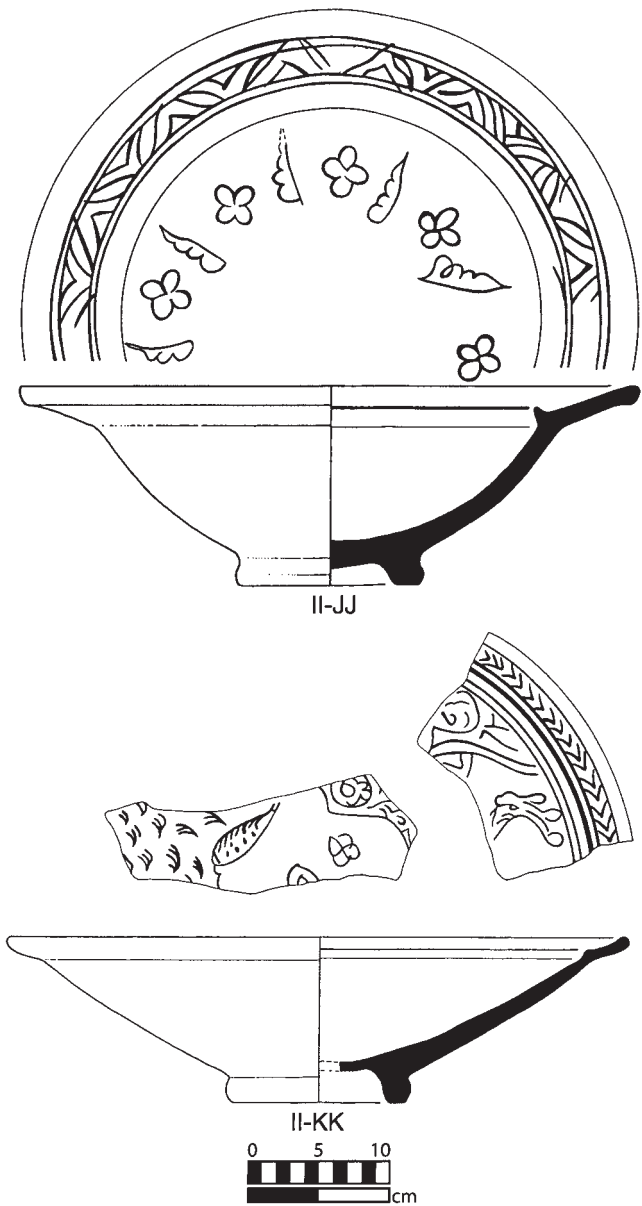


Figure 24 Group II

2LL Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines indicated at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised vegetal decoration around rim under clear glaze. Reserve painted with diluted brown and green glaze alternating between design elements. Interior has glaze accretion from kiln stacking.

2MM Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum; from al-Mina excavations. Brown fabric. Interior: white slip; incised centriformal knot design under clear glaze. Banded incised curvilinear decoration on rim. Designs roughly reserve painted in alternating panels of green and brown glaze.

2NN Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum; from al-Mina excavations. Interior: white slip; incised decoration of shields and vegetal designs under clear glaze. Design splashed with green and brown glaze.

2OO Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum: from al-Mina excavations. Exterior: glaze adhesion marks from kiln stacking on body and base. Interior: white slip; incised centriformal star pattern with vegetal decoration under clear glaze. Design splashed with green and brown glaze.

2PP Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum: from al-Mina excavations. Interior: white slip; incised horse under clear glaze. Incised curvilinear decoration around rim. Design painted with green and brown glaze.

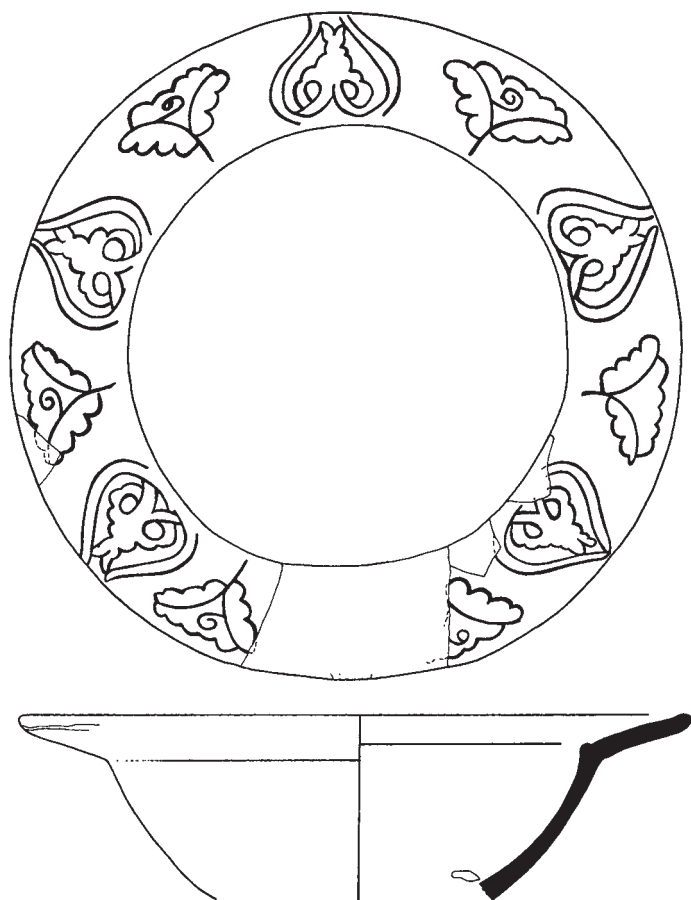
2QQ Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum; from al-Mina excavations. Interior: white slip; incised shield with fleur-de-lys under clear glaze. Rim has incised curvilinear decoration. Decoration and shield splashed with brown and green glaze.

2RR Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum: from al-Mina excavations. Interior: white slip; incised bird under clear glaze splashed with brown and green glaze. Banded incised curvilinear decoration at rim.

2SS Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum: from al-Mina excavations. Interior: white slip; incised seated figure proffering cup under clear glaze. Curvilinear decoration at rim. Decoration splashed with brown and green glaze.

2TT Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze to lines indicated. Interior: white slip; incised decoration under clear glaze tinted with diluted green and brown glaze spots.

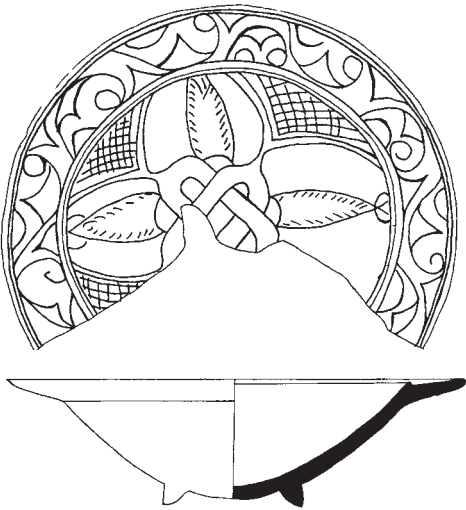
2UUa&b Polychrome sgraffito amphora. Dumbarton Oaks 6708. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip. Top of one handle has piece of clay that adhered to it during kiln firing. Incised figural and vegetal decoration under clear, greenish glaze. Green and brown glaze splotches applied to decoration and background.



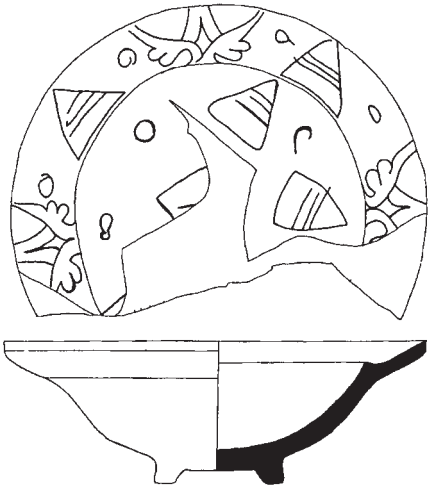
II-LL



Figure 25 Group II



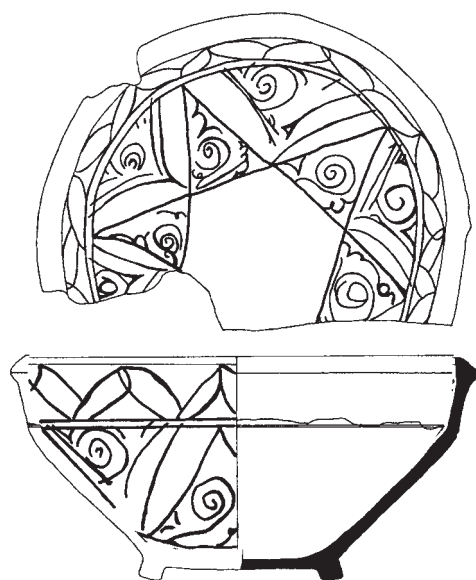
II-MM



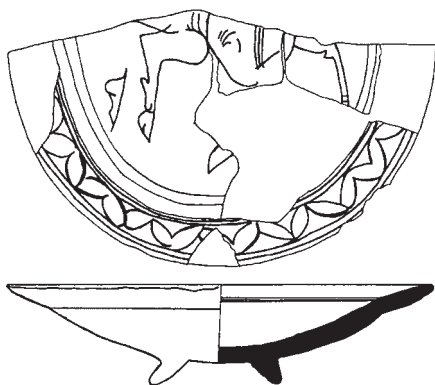
II-NN



Figure 26 Group II



II-00



II-PP

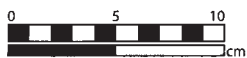


Figure 27 Group II

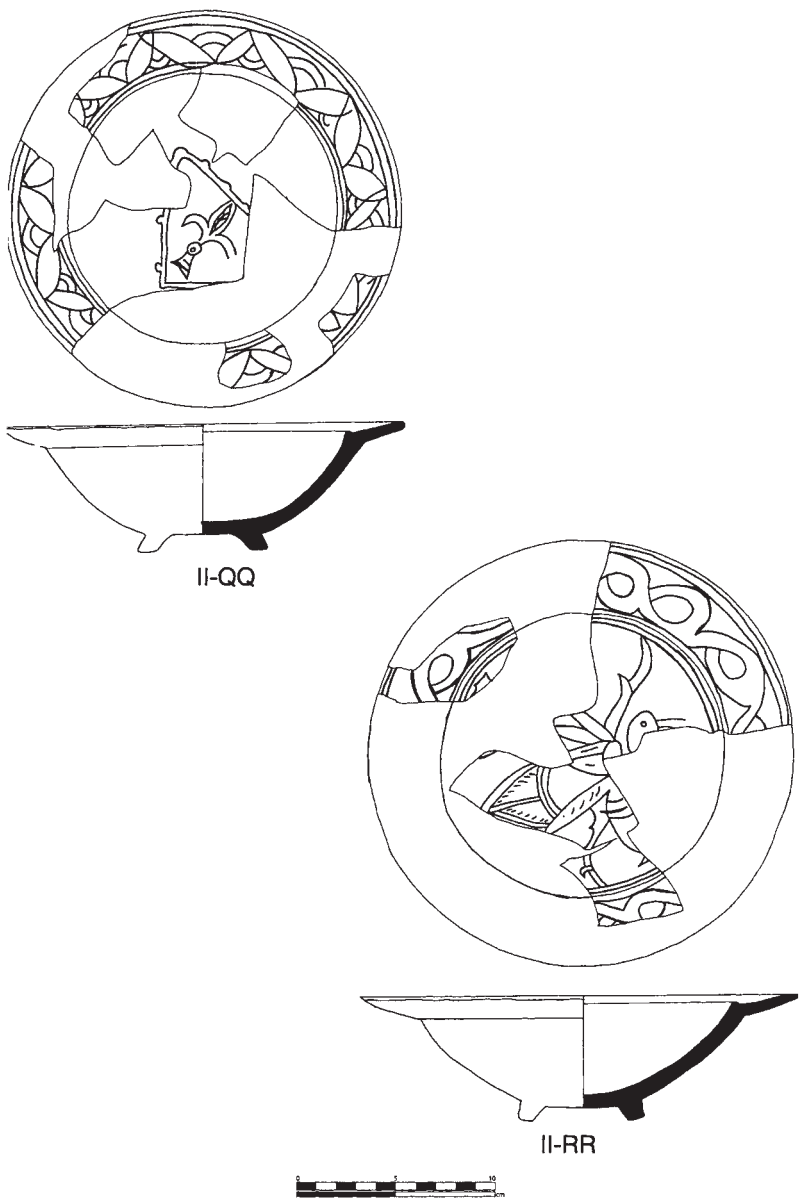


Figure 28 Group II

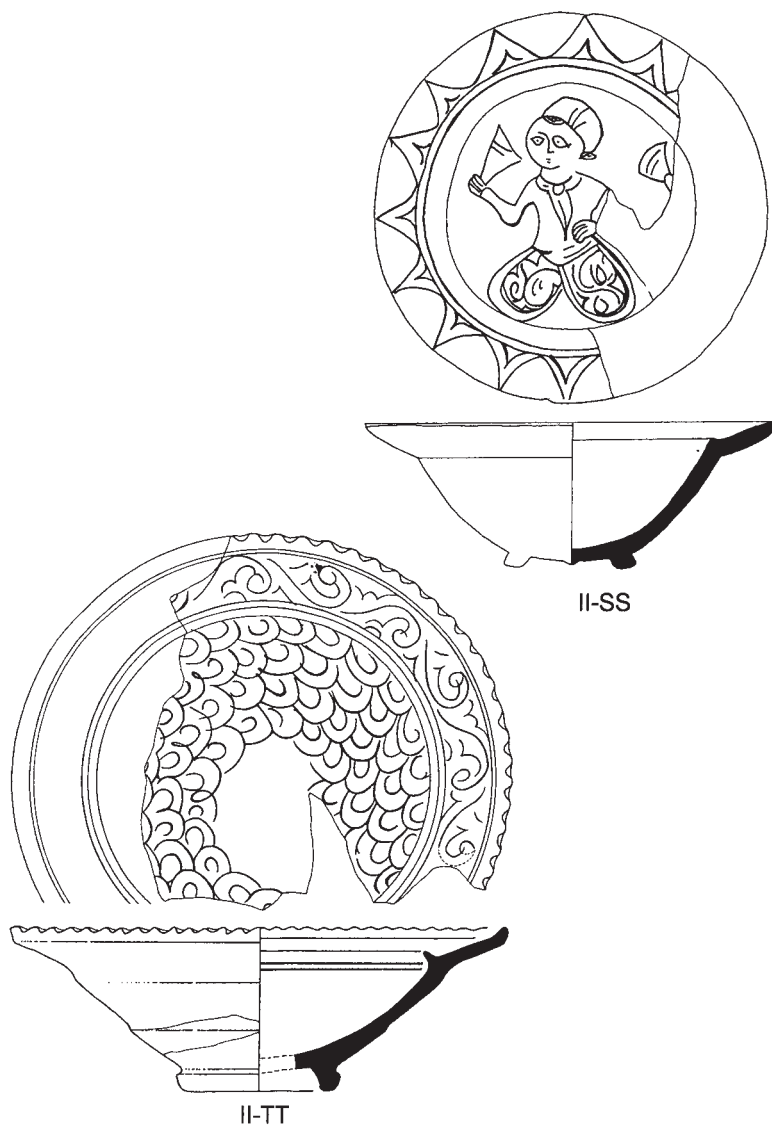
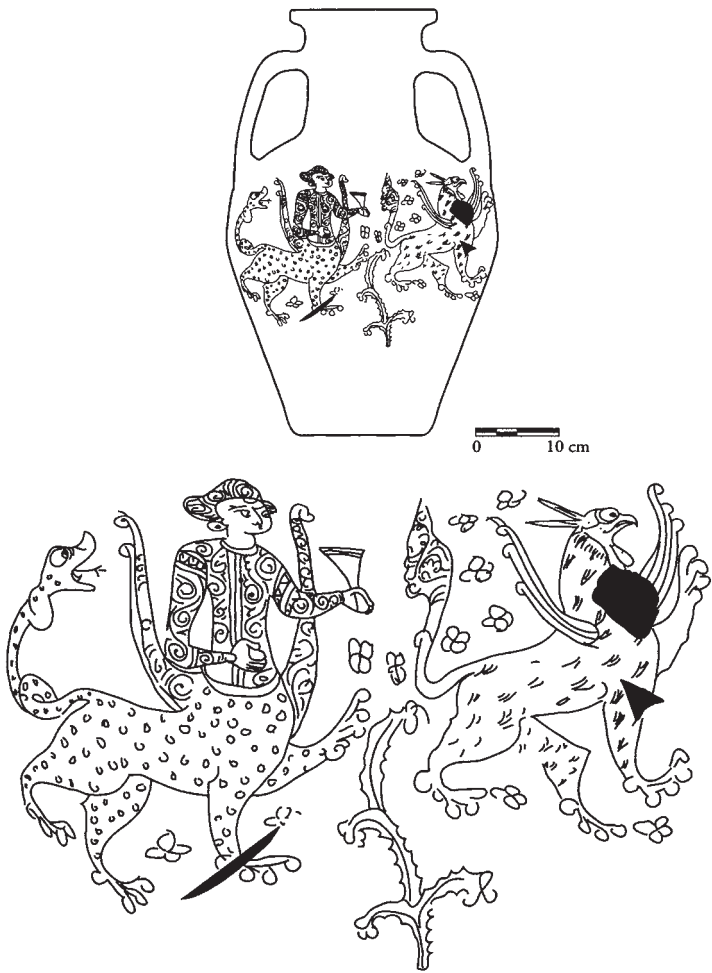


Figure 29 Group II



II-UUa

Figure 30 Group II



II-UUb

Figure 31 Group II

GROUP 3

3A Lamp. Brown fabric. Exterior and interior: white slip. Unglazed.

3B Lamp. Brown fabric. Unglazed. Burnt at spout.

3C Monochrome bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and green glaze to line just below rim. Interior: white slip; green glaze.

3D Monochrome bowl rim. Hard red brown fabric. Exterior: allover cream slip; Mustard yellow glaze to line at rim. Interior: cream slip; mustard yellow glaze.

3E Monochrome bowl. Brown fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip and green glaze at rim. Interior: white slip; green glaze.

3F Monochrome bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip and brown glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip and brown glaze.

3G Monochrome bowl. Hard orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: Mottled olive green glaze to line just below rim. Interior: Mottled olive green glaze.

3H Monochrome bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: white slip and green glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip and green glaze.

3I Monochrome bowl. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed; Interior: white slip and brown glaze.

3J Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Victoria and Albert Museum. From the al-Mina excavations. Exterior: white slip and clear glaze line at rim; scratched triangular shield with 6 double lines scratched diagonally (not depicted). Interior: white slip; incised bird under clear glaze; banded vegetal scroll at rim. Decoration splashed with green and brown glaze.

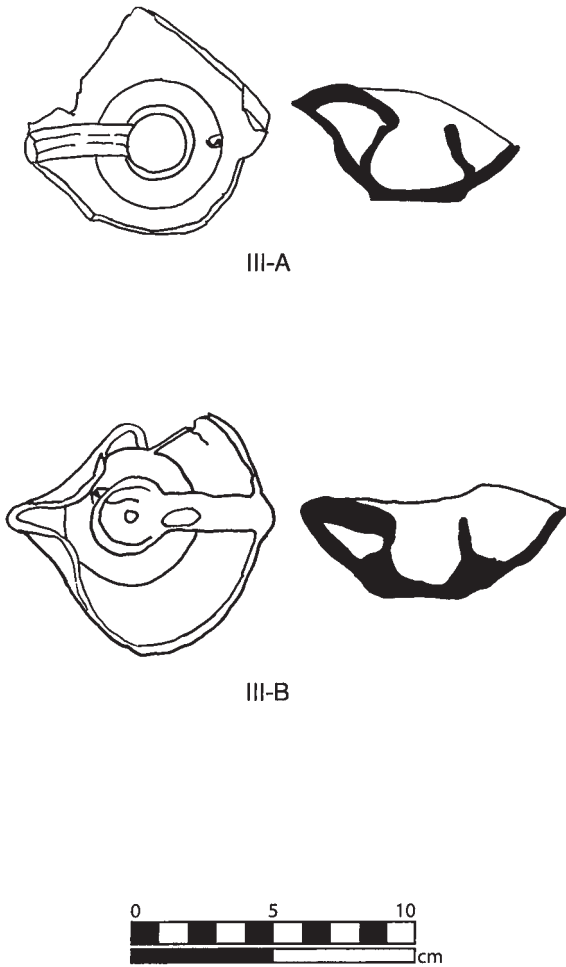


Figure 32 Group III

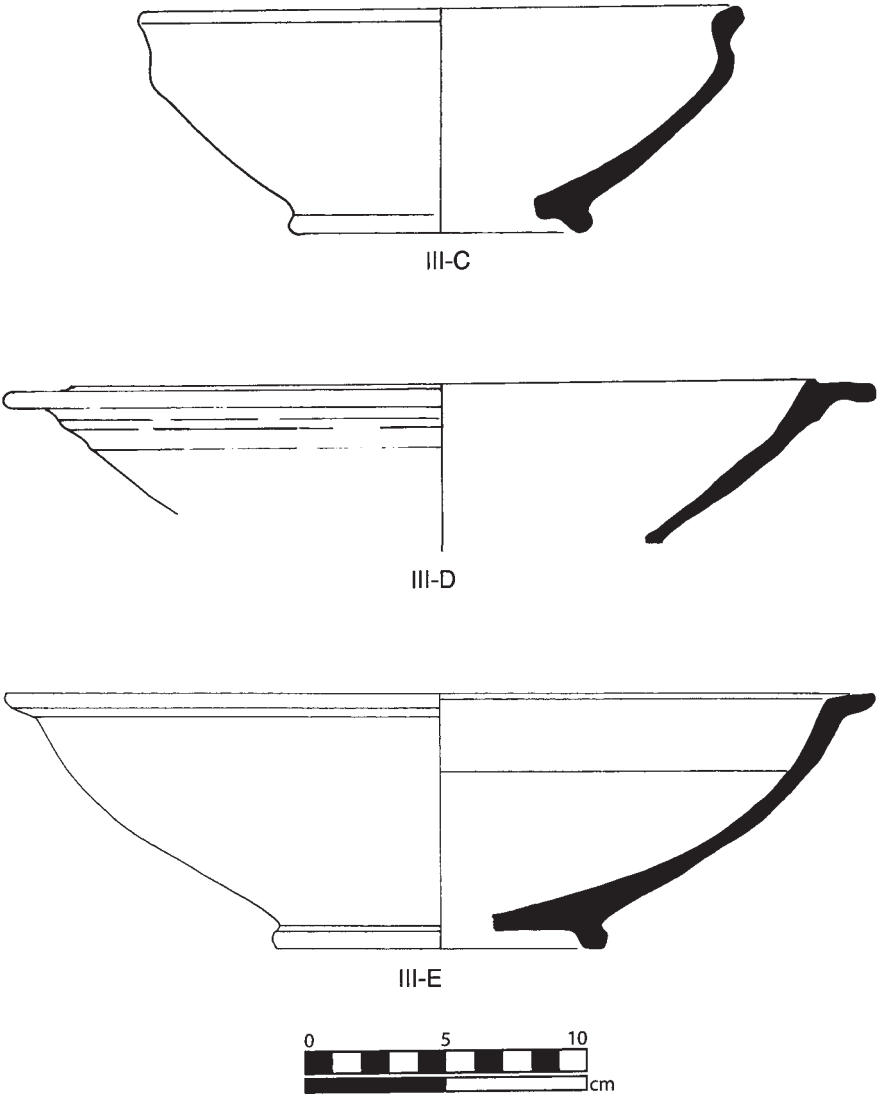


Figure 33 Group III

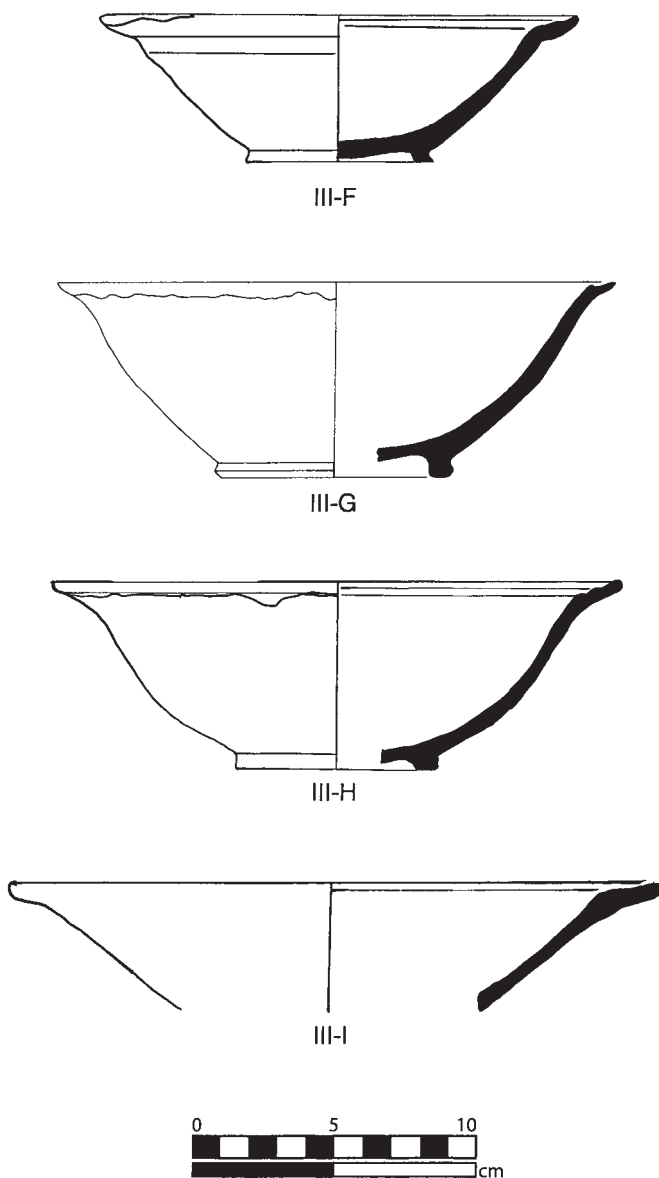


Figure 34 Group III

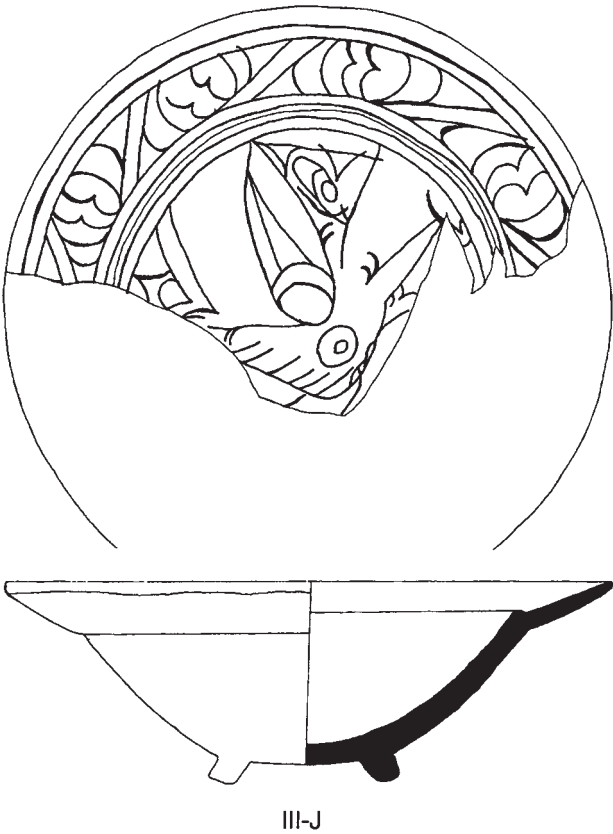


Figure 35 Group III

GROUP 4

4A Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric with lime and mineral inclusions. Exterior: thin white slip and clear glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip; incised banded decoration under clear glaze with green and brown glaze reserve painted alternately outside circles.

4B Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip; incised decoration under clear, greenish glaze. Alternating daubs of diluted green and brown glaze on incised decoration.

4C Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to line below rim. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze painted alternately in green and brown glaze.

4D Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Exterior: cream slip and clear greenish glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip and clear greenish glaze. Incised representation of Cancer. Design elements splashed alternately with brown and dark green glaze.

4E Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Found at Epiphaneia. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip to line indicated on base. Interior: cream slip; incised centriform design under clear glaze with splotches of diluted green and brown glaze.

4F Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: patch of glaze and slip adhering to bottom of base. Interior: cream slip; incised centriform design under clear glaze. Quatrefoil roundels streaked with diluted green and brown glaze.

4G Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised centriform design under clear glazed painted alternately green and brown.

4H Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised knot design under clear glaze. One knotted element roughly infilled with brown glaze, the other with green.

4I Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip in spot on exterior and two daubs on base. Spot of green glaze on base. Interior: cream slip; incised centriform radial design under clear glaze. Design elements are daubed alternately with brown and green glaze.

4J Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised centriform radiating decoration. Elements painted alternately with brown and green glaze.

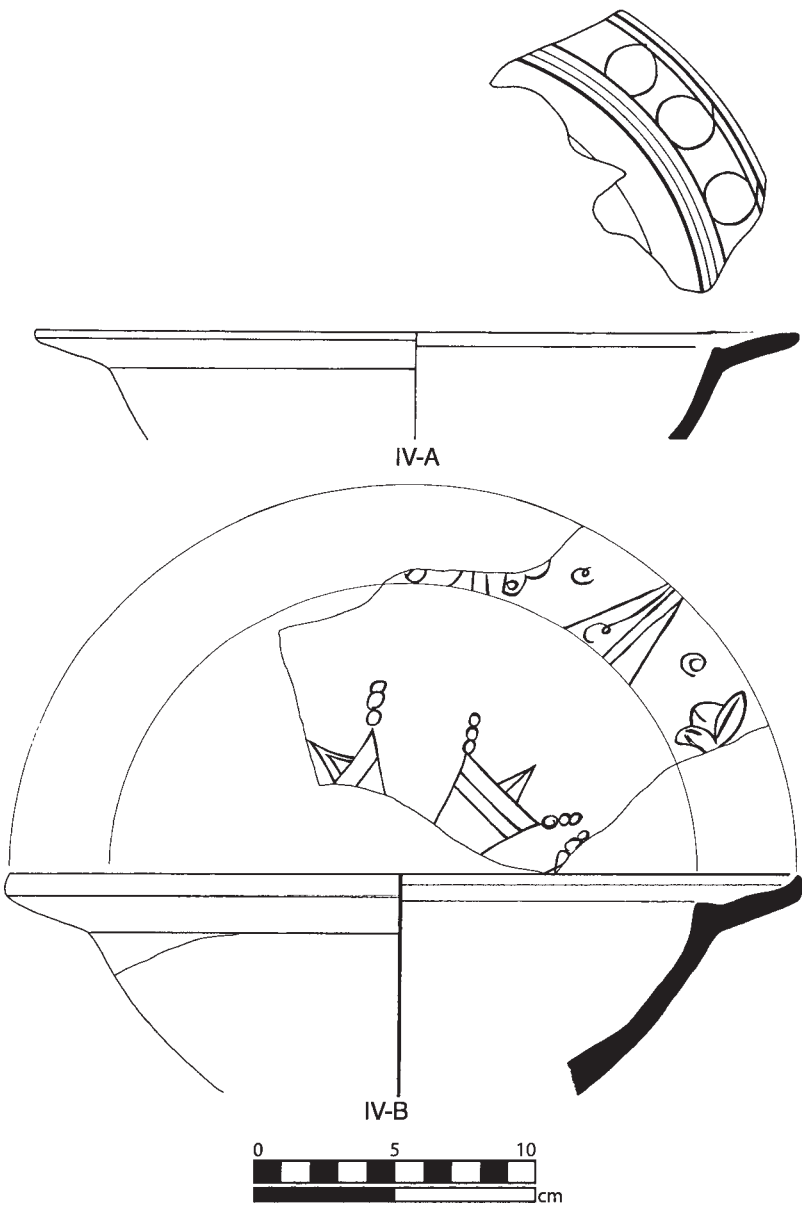


Figure 36 Group III

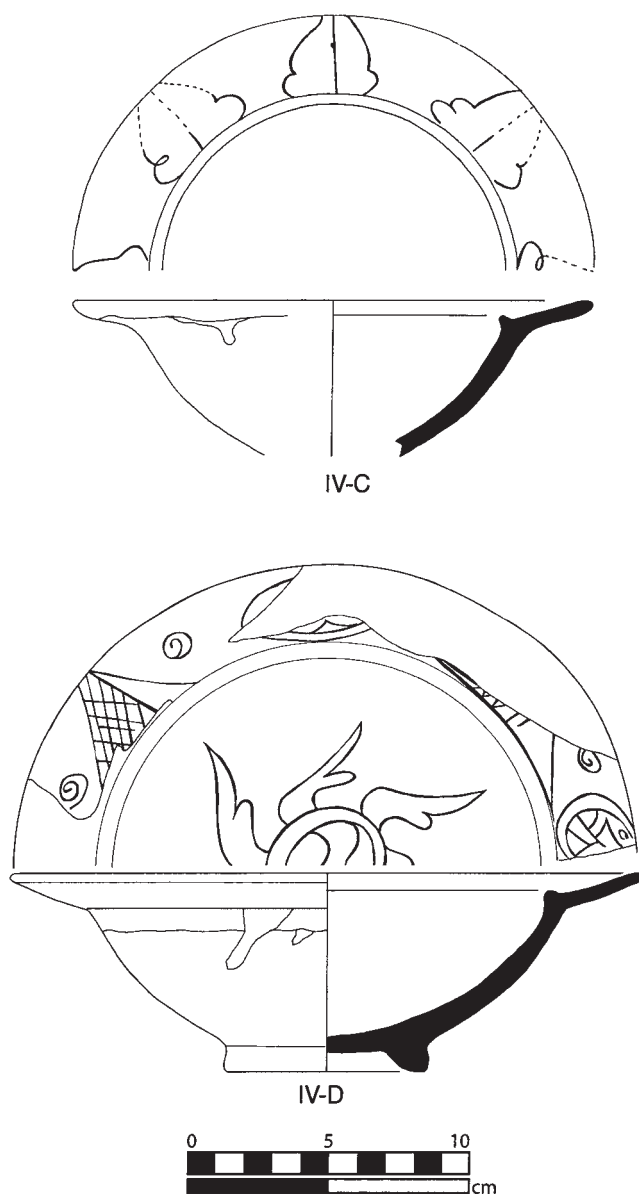


Figure 37 Group IV

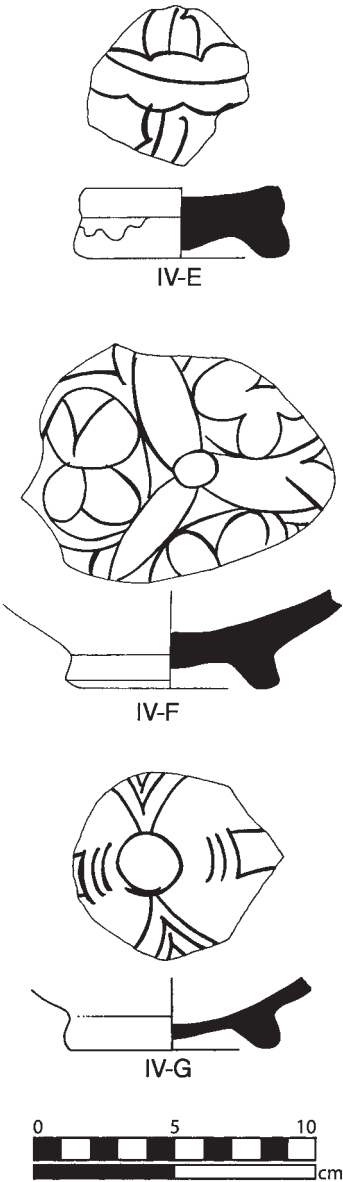


Figure 38 Group IV

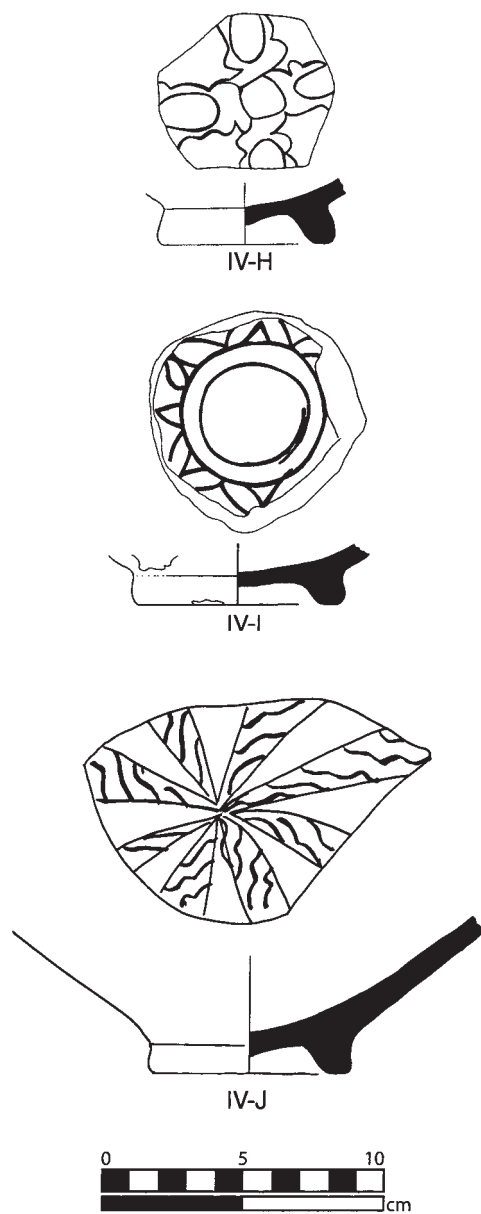


Figure 39 Group IV

4K Monochrome glazed bowl. Orange fabric with mineral inclusions. Exterior: white slip and green glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip and green glaze.

4L Monochrome glazed bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and green glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip and green glaze.

4M Monochrome glazed bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip and green glaze to line at rim. Interior: white slip and green glaze.

4N Monochrome glazed bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and diluted brown glaze to lines indicated below rim. At and just below rim are lines of glaze adhering from another vessel stacked above this vessel in the kiln. Interior: cream slip and green glaze.

4O Monochrome glazed bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and green glaze at rim. Glaze bubbles at rim indicate vessel was fired upside down. Interior: cream slip and green glaze.

4P Monochrome glazed bowl. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and green glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip under green glaze.

4Q Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and green glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip; incised banded fretwork pattern under clear glaze. Design elements splashed alternately with diluted green and brown glaze.

4R Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and diluted brown glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip; incised fretwork under clear glaze. Interior of fretwork painted alternately with green and brown glaze.

4S Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric with lime and mineral inclusions. Exterior: cream slip; incised vegetal design under greenish clear glaze. Interior: cream slip and greenish clear glaze.

4T Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Brown fabric. Exterior: white slip under green glaze. Interior: white slip; incised banded decoration under clear glaze with splashed green glaze.

4U Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines below rim. Interior: cream slip; incised fretwork design under clear glaze. Design elements painted alternately with diluted green and brown glaze.

4V Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to line at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised fretwork design under clear glaze. Design elements painted alternately with green and brown glaze.

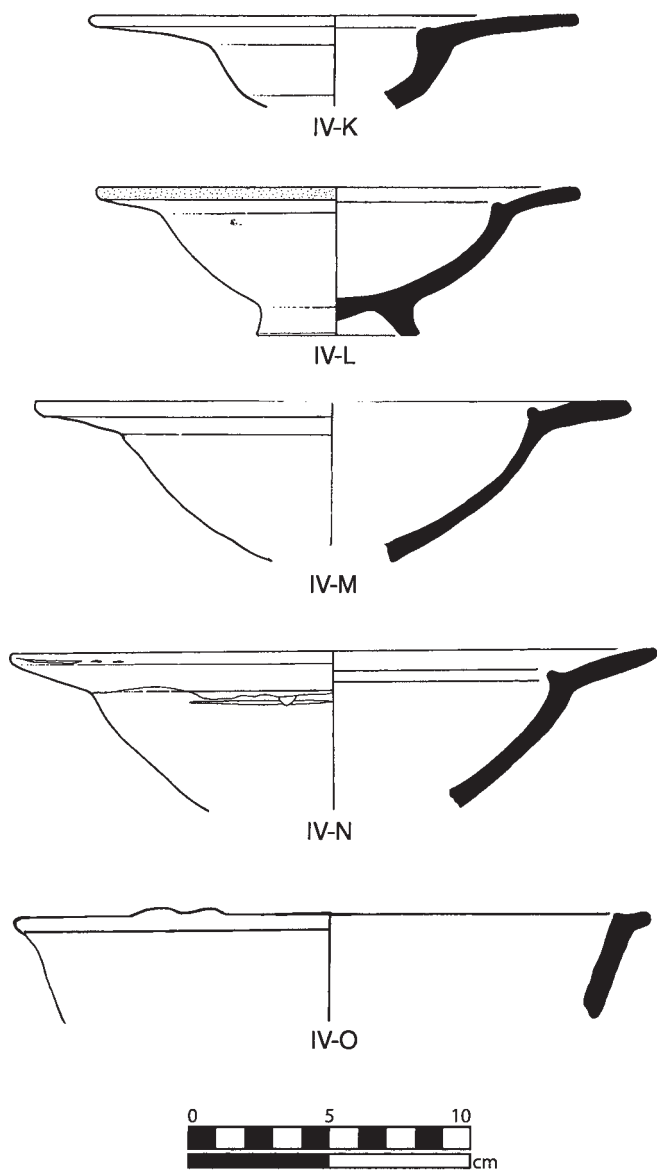


Figure 40 Group IV

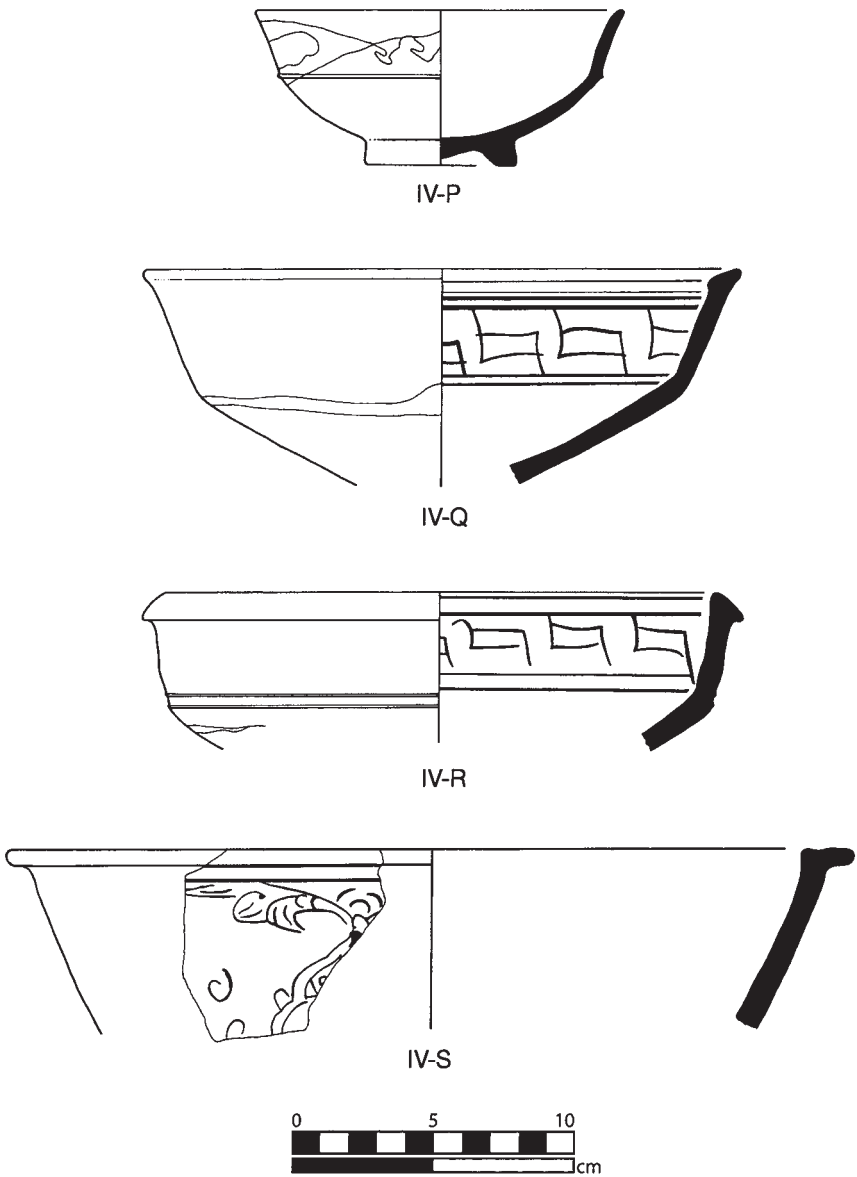


Figure 41 Group IV

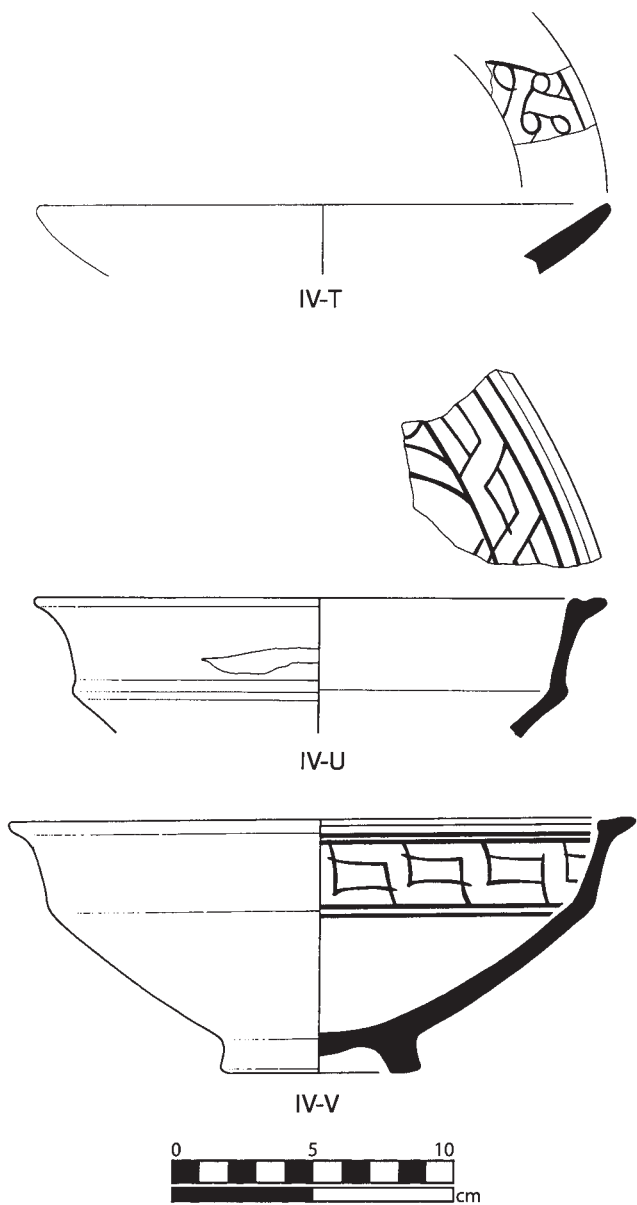


Figure 42 Group IV

4W Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip; incised banded decoration under clear glaze with splotches of brown and green glaze within band. Interior: cream slip under clear glaze.

4X Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip; banded pseudoepigraphic decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splashed with brown and green glaze.

4Y Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Hard orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: white slip to line indicated below rim. Interior: white slip; incised design under fine clear glaze. Entire interior splashed with diluted brown and green glaze alternating inside and outside of design units.

4Z Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to lines indicated at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised decoration of fretwork, curvilinear elements, and bird head under clear glaze. Design elements splashed alternately with brown and green glaze.

4AA Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime and mineral inclusions. Exterior: thin white slip and clear yellow glaze to lines below rim. Thick white slip at rim. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear decoration under yellowish clear glaze. Decoration splashed with brown and green glaze.

4BB Monochrome glazed bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and green glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip and green glaze.

4CC Monochrome glazed bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and green glaze to lines indicated. Interior: cream slip; green glaze.

4DD Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip where indicated and on underside of base. Clear glaze above line. Interior: cream slip; incised centrifform curvilinear and hatched decoration under clear glaze. One trilobe element at top of design splashed with green glaze.

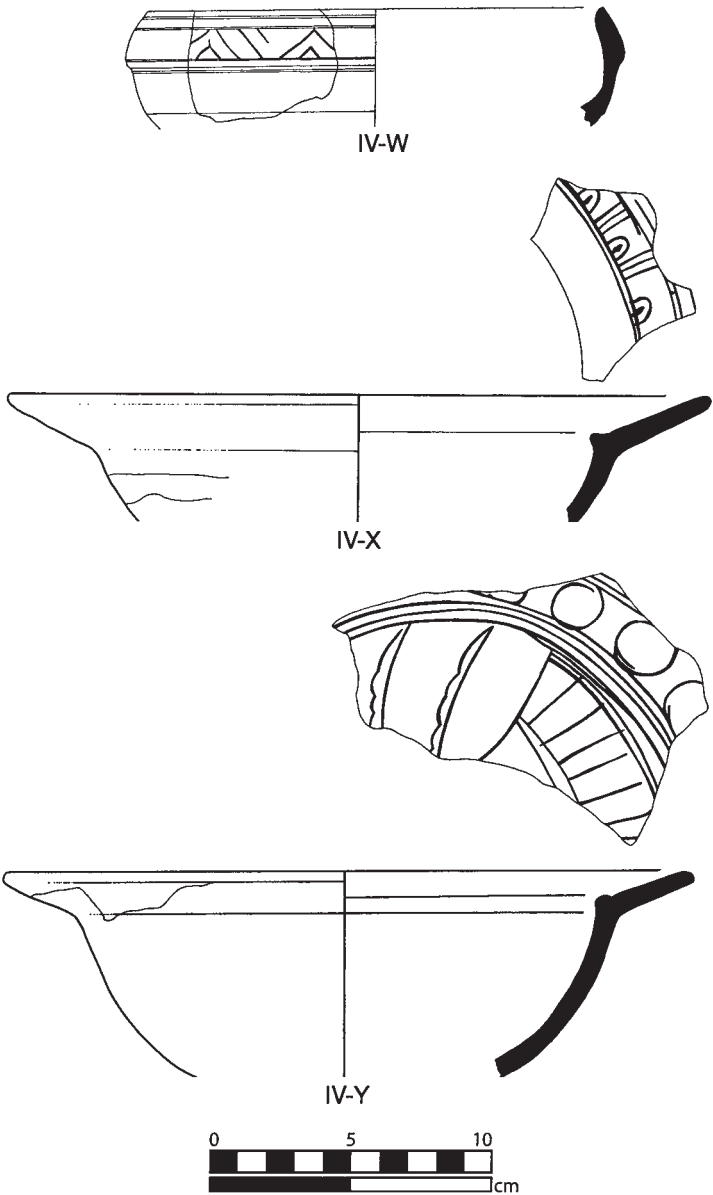


Figure 43 Group IV

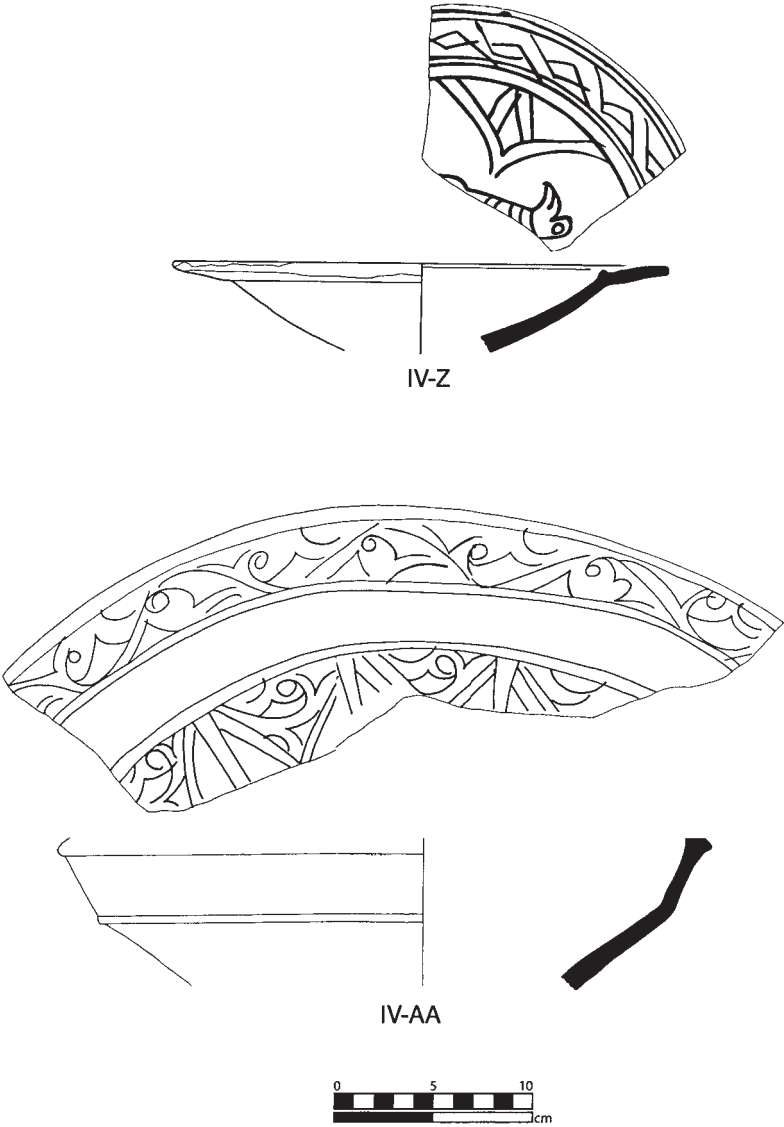
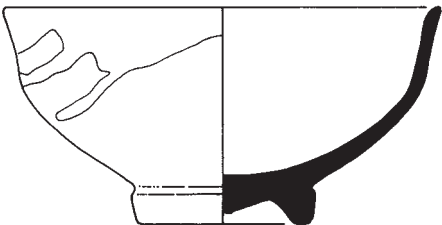
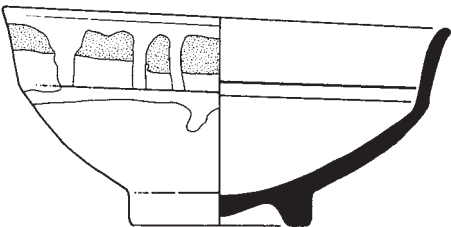


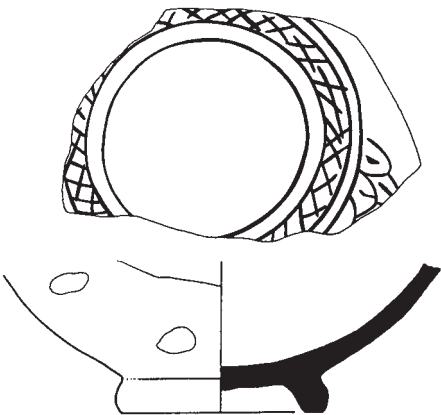
Figure 44 Group IV



IV-BB



IV-CC



IV-DD



Figure 45 Group IV

4EE Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Found at Epiphaneia. Brown fabric with mineral inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised shingled design under clear glaze. Design units spotted with diluted brown and green glazed dots in alternating rows.

4FF Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under dark mustard yellow glaze.

4GG Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised bird under clear glaze with spot of brown glaze.

4HH Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip. Incised bird's body under clear glaze. Body filled with diluted green glaze and feet (?) with diluted brown glaze.

4II Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised centrifform decoration under clear glaze; splashed with diluted green and brown glaze.

4JJ Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised centrifform knot design under clear glaze. Design painted alternately in green and brown glaze.

4KK Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised personified scorpion under dark green glaze.

4LL Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip under clear glaze. Incised centrifform radial linear pattern. Larger areas between lines roughly infilled with alternating splashes of brown and green glaze.

4MM Bichrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime and mineral inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised spiral in center of base. Sherd has two glazes: yellow and green. Line dividing the two glaze colors runs through the middle of the spiral.

4NN Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Sandy orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip/ incised bird under clear glaze with daubs of brown and yellow glaze.

4OO Unglazed sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed and unslipped. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear decoration.

4PP Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised radial centrifform decoration under clear glaze. Design elements splashed with diluted green and brown glaze.

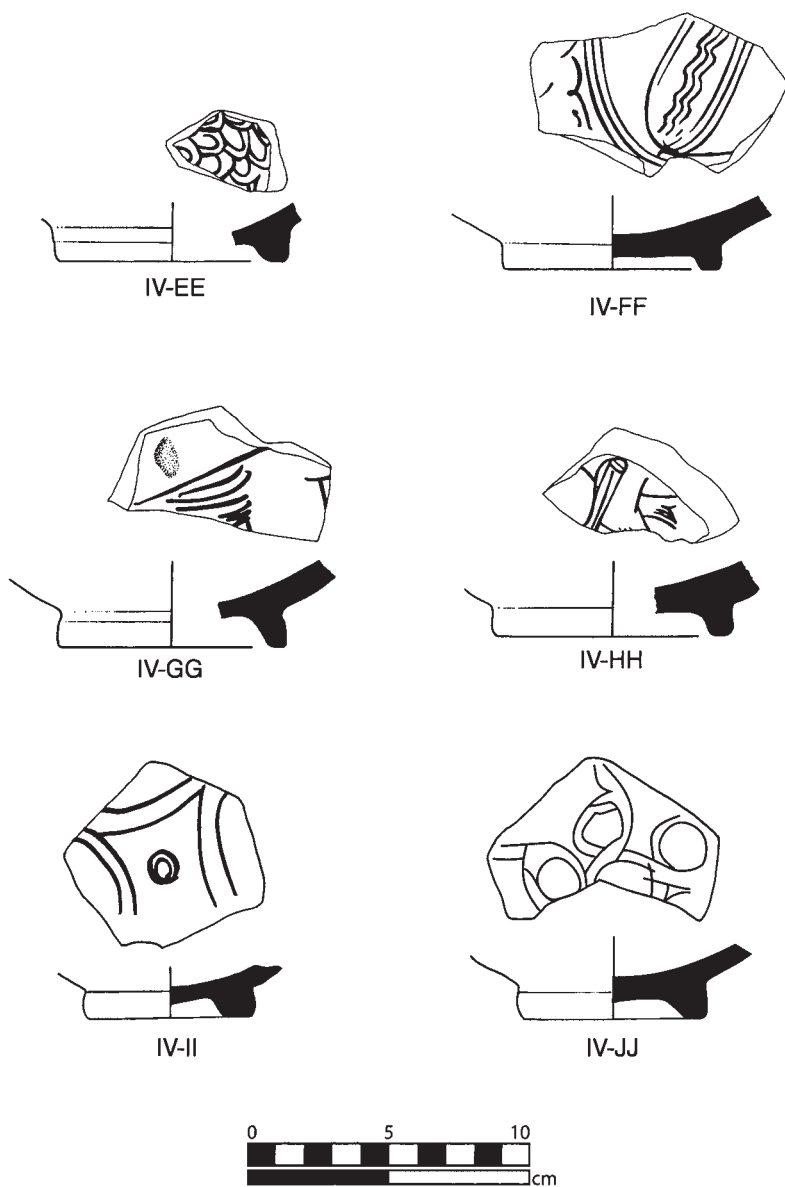


Figure 46 Group IV

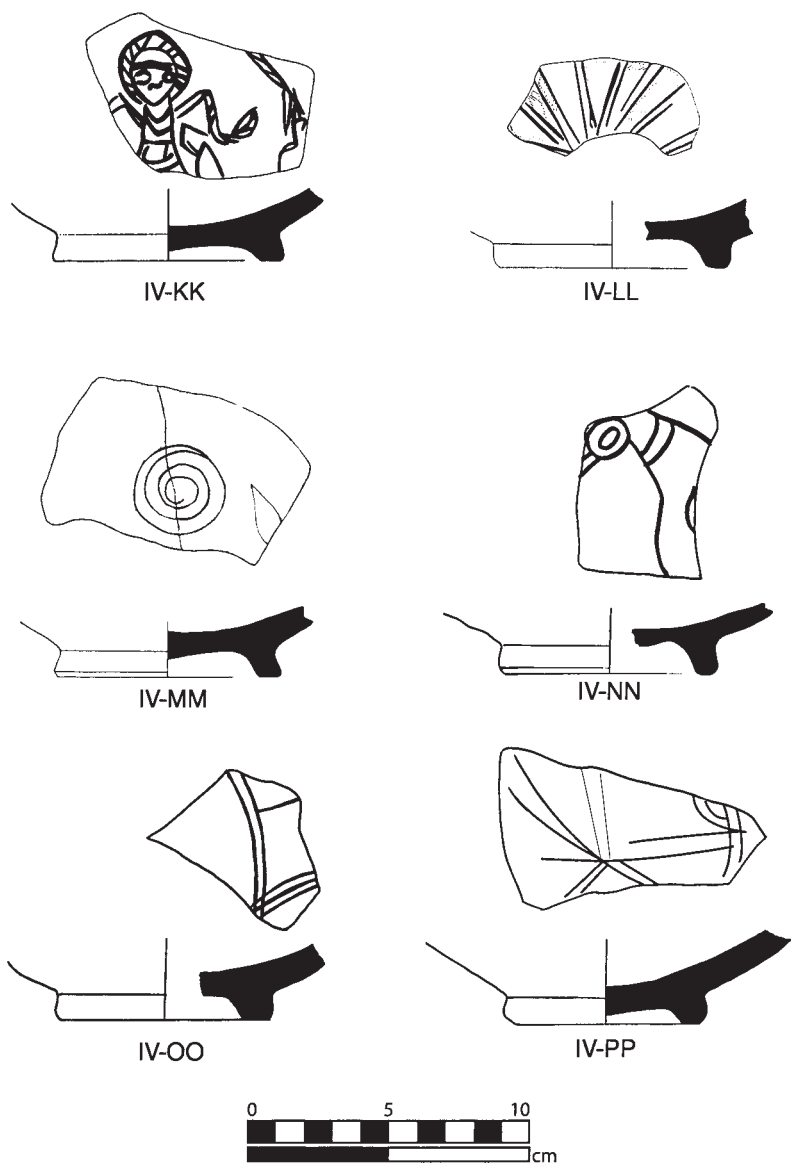


Figure 47 Group IV

4QQ Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear centriform decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splotted with diluted green and brown glaze.

4RR Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; radial decoration incised under clear glaze. Sherd is washed with bands of diluted brown and green glaze running across design.

4SS Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Badly levigated orange fabric with lime, pebble, and vegetal inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze. Curvilinear elements of design splashed with alternating brown and green diluted glaze in reserve.

4TT Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Exterior: cream slip and green glazed lines below rim. Interior: cream slip; incised split palmette band on rim under clear glaze; design reserve painted with alternating diluted brown and green glaze.

4UU Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Orange fabric with occasional lime, pebble, and vegetal inclusions. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: cream slip; incised decoration of bird under clear glaze. Body of bird splashed with green glaze; its head, wing, and claws with brown glaze.

4VV Monochrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric with lime and other mineral inclusions. Exterior: glaze and slip spots (not indicated). Incised owner's mark on base. Interior: white slip; incised trefoil centriform decoration under dark green glaze.

4WW Polychrome sgraffito bowl. Brown fabric. Exterior: cream slip and greenish clear glaze to line at rim. Incised owner's marks of six pointed star on side and base. Interior: cream slip; incised representation of mounted, armed warrior under greenish clear glaze with brown glaze accents.

4XX Pottery kiln rod. Brown fabric. Found at Epiphaneia.

4YY Pottery kiln trivet. Brown fabric.

4ZZ Polychrome sgraffito tile fragments (from same tile). Red brown fabric. White slip on all sides. Incised representations of horse, standing warrior with shield, and shrubbery under greenish clear glaze splashed with brown and green glaze.

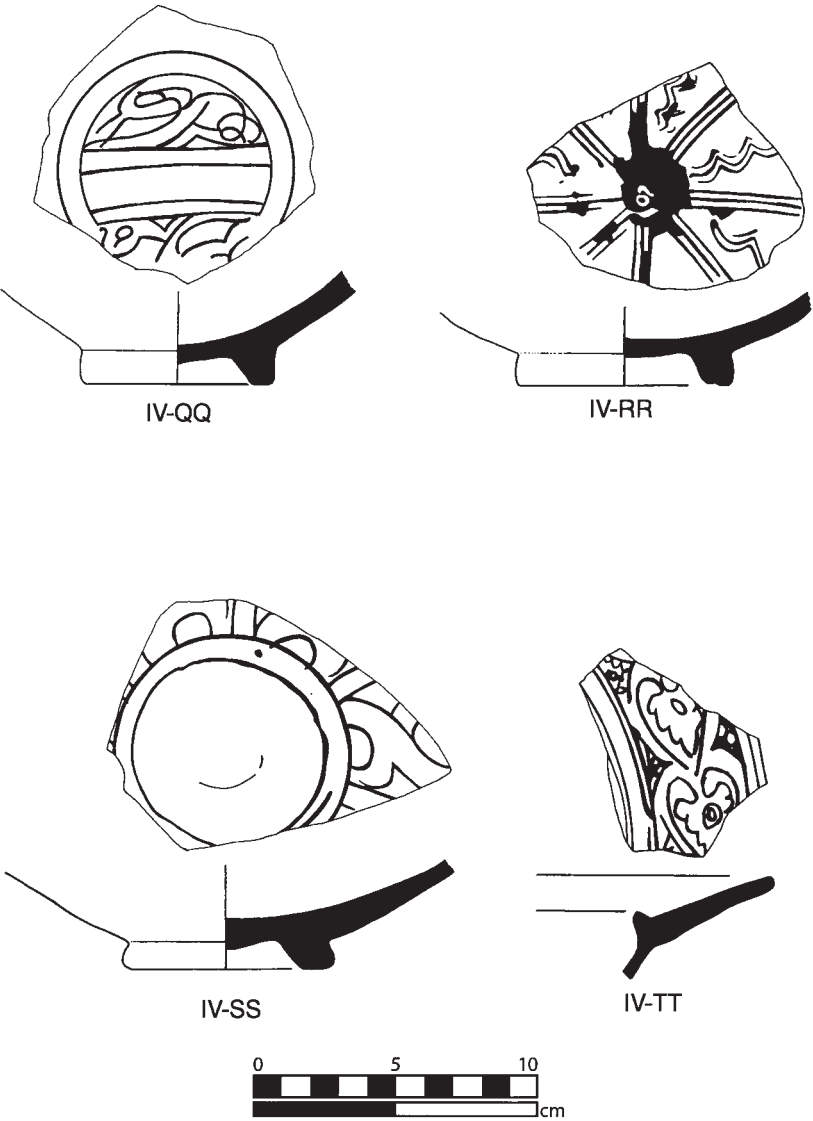


Figure 48 Group IV

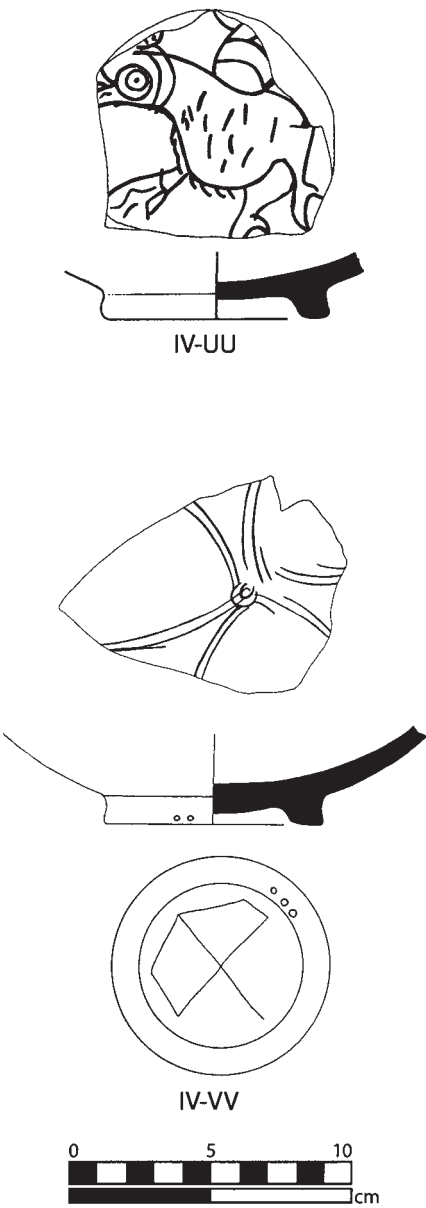


Figure 49 Group IV

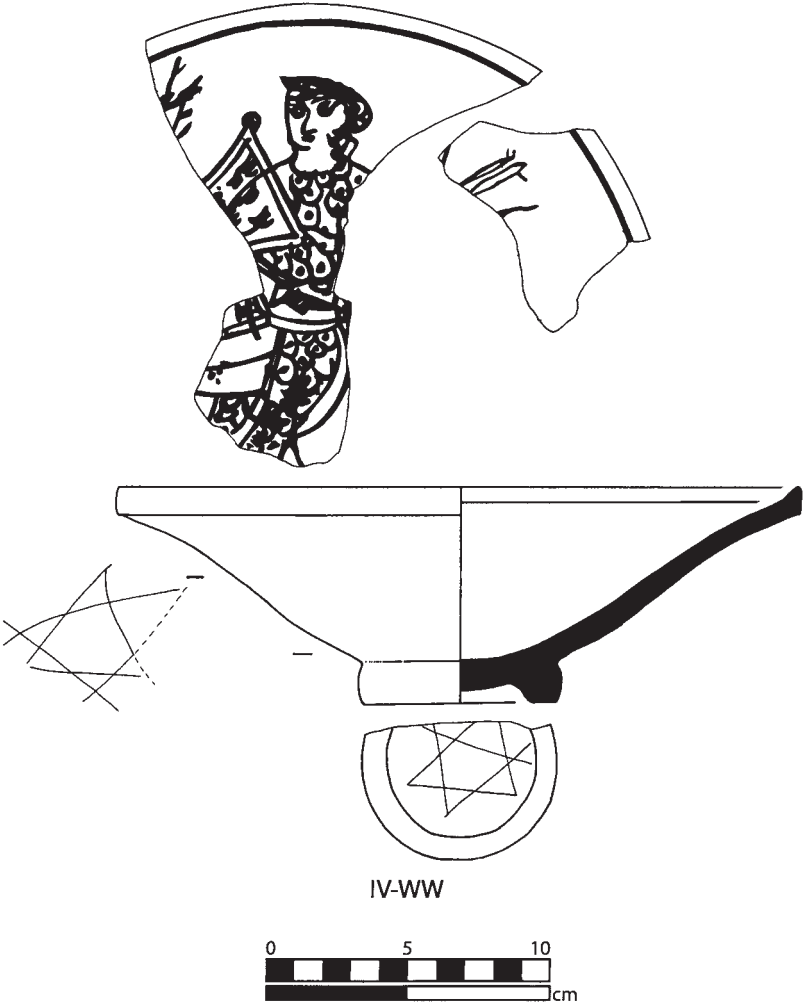


Figure 50 Group IV

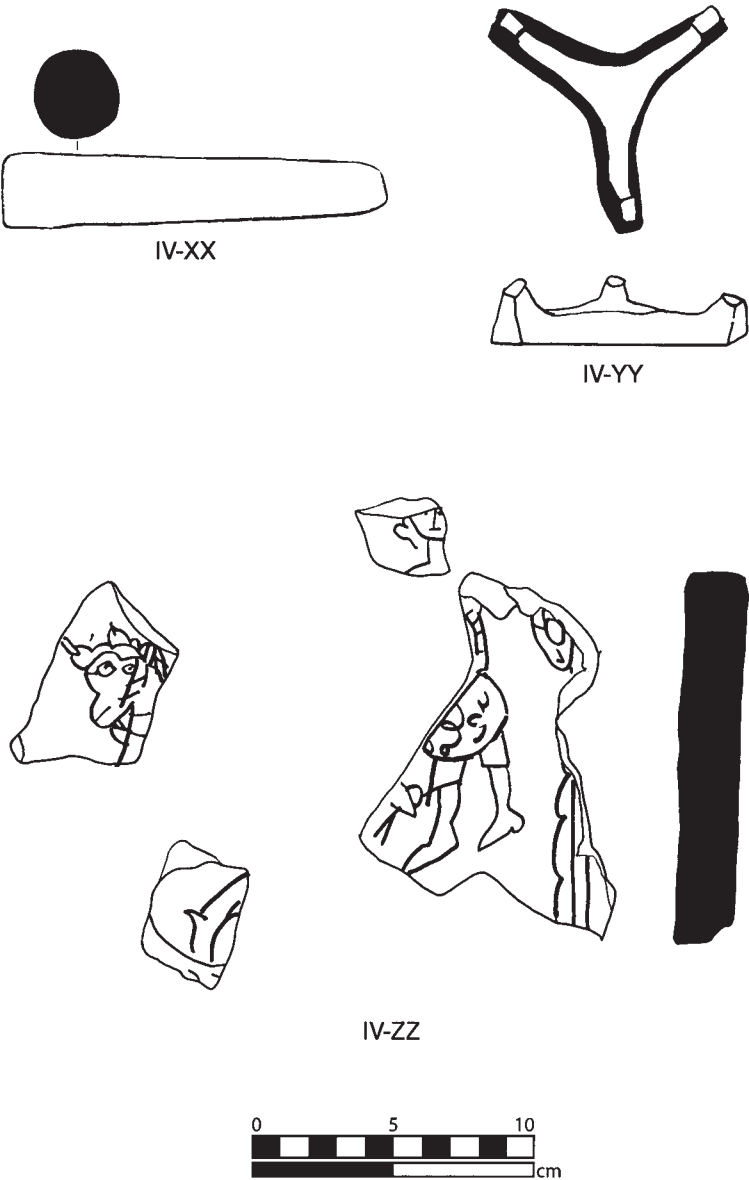


Figure 51 Group IV

4AAA Unglazed sgraffito bowl body sherd. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed, unslipped. Interior: white slip with incised curvilinear design.

4BBB Polychrome sgraffito tile fragment. Brown fabric. Top: white slip; incised curvilinear design under clear glaze with main elements splashed with brown and green glaze.

4CCC Polychrome sgraffito tile corner. Orange fabric with lime inclusions. Bottom: unglazed. Sides covered with clear glaze. Top: cream slip; incised fretwork decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splashed alternately with green and brown glaze.

4DDD Polychrome sgraffito tile corner. Orange fabric. Bottom and sides unglazed. Top: cream slip; incised fretwork decoration under clear glaze. Decoration splashed alternately with green and brown glaze.

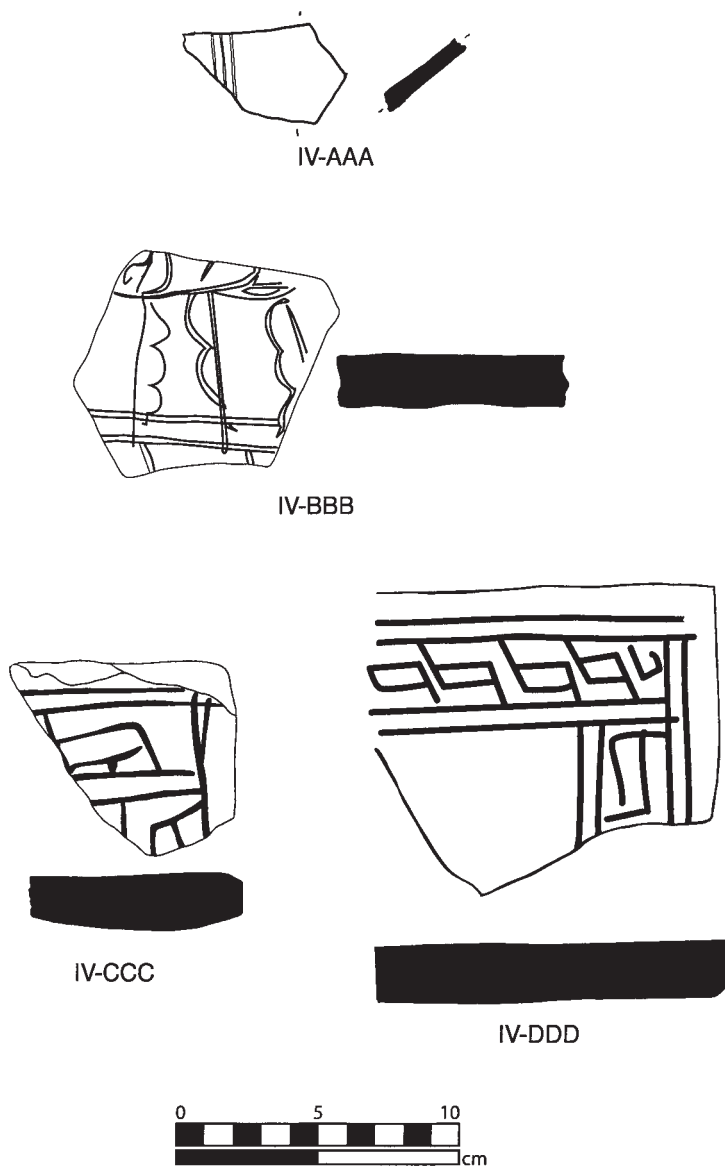


Figure 52 Group IV

GROUP 5

5A Polychrome sgraffito bowl base. Brown fabric. Exterior: unglazed. Interior: white slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze with splashes of diluted green glaze.

5B Polychrome sgraffito bowl rim. Orange fabric. Exterior: cream slip and clear glaze to line at rim. Interior: cream slip; incised curvilinear decoration under clear glaze. Design elements reserve painted in alternating green and diluted brown glaze.

5C Polychrome sgraffito bowl. David Collection, Copenhagen. Brown fabric: Cream slip at rim. Slip-painted curvilinear decoration under green glaze. Interior: cream slip; incised banded and segmented curvilinear decoration centering on a cross. Decoration splashed alternately in diluted brown and green glaze.

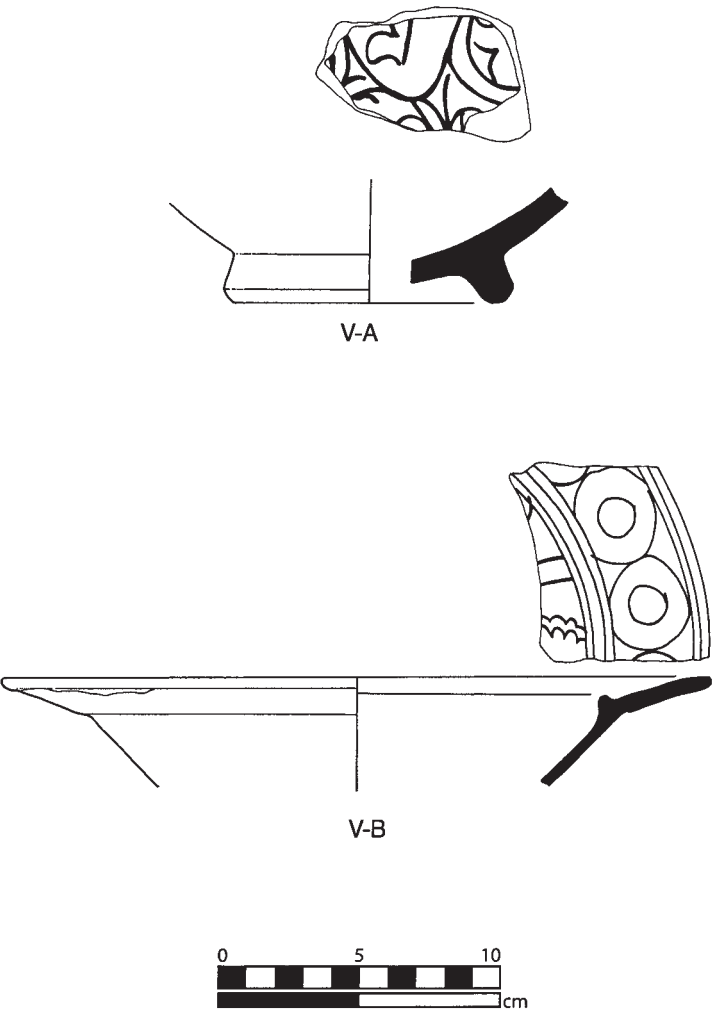


Figure 53 Group IV

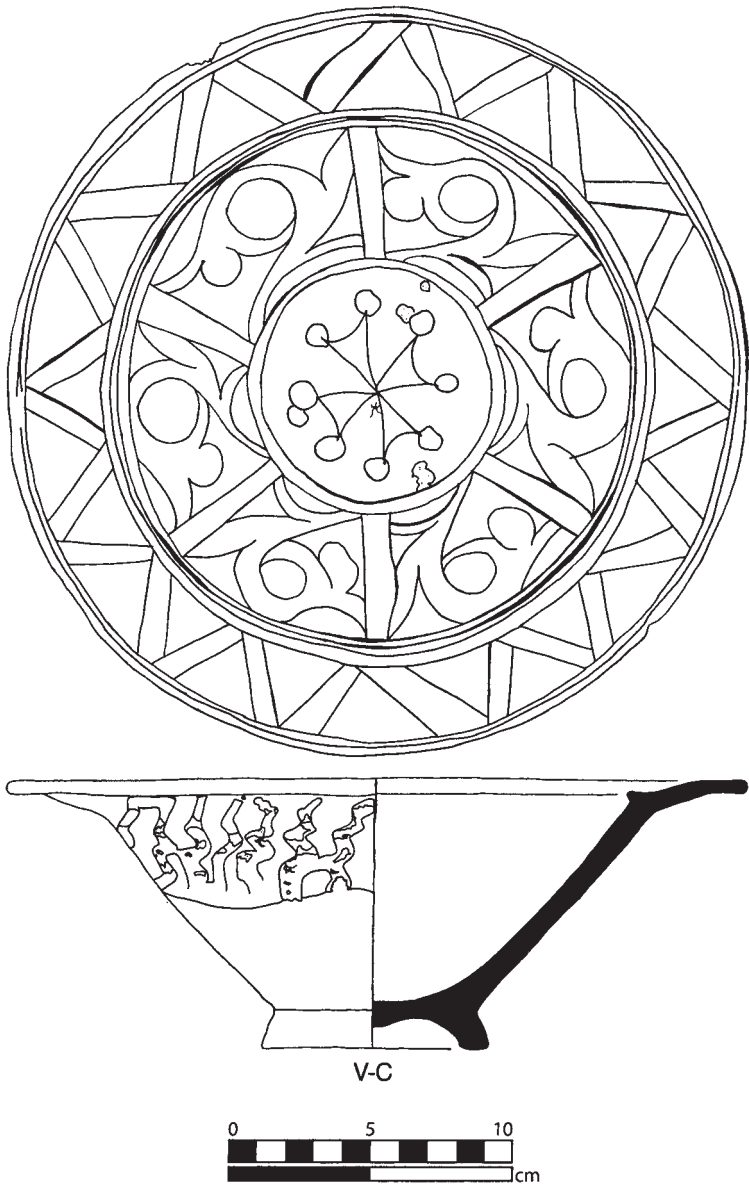


Figure 54 Group IV

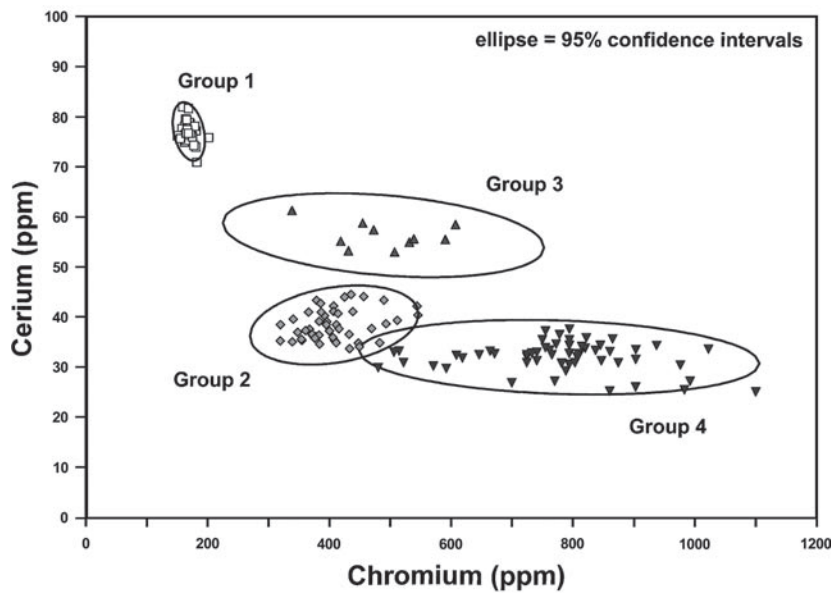


Figure 55 Bivariate Plot of Chromium vs. Cerium showing the separation among the four largest chemical groups.

Table 1. A summary of INAA analytical parameters

Element	Nuclide	Gamma Ray Energy (Kev)	Conc. in Standard SRM 1633	Count ¹	Analytical Precision SRM679 ²
Na *	Na-24	1369	0.32 %	1	2.3%
K *	K-42	1525	1.61 %	1	8.2%
Ca *	Ca-47	1297	4.70 %	1	n.d.
Sc *	Sc-46	889	27.0 ppm	2	1.4%
Cr *	Cr-51	320	13 1. ppm	2	3.1%
Fe *	Fe-58	1099 & 1292	6.20 %	2	2.9%
Co	Co-60	1173 & 1333	41.5 ppm	2	1.5%
Zn	Zn-65	1115	213. ppm	2	3.5%
As	As-76	559	61.0 ppm	1	6.0%
Rb *	Rb-86	1077	125. ppm	2	9.1%
Sr	Sr-85	514	1700. ppm	2	n.d.
Sb	Sb-122	564	6.9 ppm	1	9.9%
Cs *	Cs-134	796	8.6 ppm	2	2.7%
Ba	Ba-131	496	2700. ppm	1	13.2%
La *	La-140	1596	82.0 ppm	1	1.4%
Ce *	Ce-141	145	146. ppm	2	1.8%
Nd	Nd-147	91	64.0 ppm	2	11.9%
Sm *	Sm-153	103	12.9 ppm	1	1.6%
Eu *	Eu-152	1408	2.5 ppm	2	2.2%
Tb	Tb-160	879	1.9 ppm	2	12.9%
Yb *	Yb-175	396	6.4 ppm	1	4.8%
Lu *	Lu-177	208	1.0 ppm	1	6.7%
Hf *	Hf-181	482	7.9 ppm	2	3.5%
Ta *	Ta-182	1221	1.8 ppm	2	7.0%
Th *	Pa-233	312	24.8 ppm	2	2.2%
U	Np-239	106	11.6 ppm	1	15.9%

n.d. not determined

1 count 1: 1 hour, after a 6/day decay; count 2: 2 hours after a 30/day decay.

2 Blackman (1986)

* Elements used in the cluster analysis

Table 2. Mahalanobis distance and Hotelling's T^2 calculations of group membership.

Group 1 (n=30) Probabilities of membership in:				Group 2 (n=47) Probabilities membership in:			
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4		Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
KTP007	83.94	0.00	0.00	KTP001	0.00	85.34	0.07
KTP008	94.87	0.00	0.00	KTP002	0.00	81.58	0.00
KTP034	92.87	0.00	0.00	KTP003	0.00	82.90	0.01
KTP040	86.43	0.00	0.00	KTP006	0.00	75.27	0.03
KTP042	91.82	0.00	0.00	KTP009	0.00	97.36	0.42
KTP044	97.32	0.00	0.00	KTP011	0.00	54.77	0.01
KTP045	97.81	0.00	0.00	KTP015	0.00	51.43	0.00
KTP049	99.74	0.00	0.00	KTP016	0.00	65.38	0.23
KTP051	89.69	0.00	0.00	KTP026	0.00	93.44	0.03
KTP055	85.98	0.00	0.00	KTP027	0.00	99.89	0.13
KTP058	96.20	0.00	0.00	KTP030	0.00	45.16	0.00
KTP060	98.66	0.00	0.00	KTP031	0.00	88.72	0.24
KTP062	88.47	0.00	0.00	KTP033	0.00	97.98	0.04
KTP066	97.97	0.00	0.00	KTP035	0.00	54.42	0.00
KTP068	93.85	0.00	0.00	KTP039t	0.00	90.17	0.01
KTP072	98.16	0.00	0.00	KTP054	0.00	83.77	0.02
KTP073	88.97	0.00	0.00	KTP065	0.00	38.95	0.00
KTP077	99.77	0.00	0.00	KTP067	0.00	43.67	0.00
KTP079	88.13	0.00	0.00	KTP074	0.00	98.95	0.25
KTP080	86.41	0.00	0.00	KTP076	0.00	52.00	0.20
KTP084	80.64	0.00	0.00	KTP095	0.00	95.49	1.94
KTP091	93.14	0.00	0.00	KTP101	0.00	95.45	0.03
KTP096	95.74	0.00	0.00	KTP103	0.00	99.03	0.58
KTP120	94.83	0.00	0.00	KTP112	0.00	92.15	0.53
KTP139	85.48	0.00	0.00	KTP113	0.00	84.96	0.19
KTP142	97.63	0.00	0.00	KTP116	0.00	97.46	0.07
KTP143	86.71	0.00	0.00	KTP119	0.00	97.67	0.32
KTP145	86.34	0.00	0.00	KTP122	0.00	69.35	0.02
KTP182	98.63	0.00	0.00	KTP124	0.00	80.92	1.34
KTP184	89.82	0.00	0.00	KTP126	0.00	88.92	0.09
				KTP128	0.00	84.12	0.35
				KTP135	0.00	76.21	0.40
				KTP137	0.00	63.20	0.11
				KTP138	0.00	83.60	0.59

Group 2 (n=47)			
Probabilities membership in:			
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
KTP151	0.00	89.65	1.73
KTP152	0.00	45.89	0.12
KTP153	0.00	95.04	0.00
KTP154	0.00	86.32	0.00
KTP155	0.00	97.23	0.00
KTP156	0.00	90.28	0.00
KTP157	0.00	41.63	0.00
KTP159	0.00	46.50	0.00
KTP181	0.00	86.98	0.00
KTP183	0.00	97.89	0.40
KTP186	0.00	93.36	0.01
KTP187	0.00	80.27	0.03
DO6708	0.00	63.42	0.06

Group 4 (n=57)			
Probabilities of membership in:			
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
KTP010	0.00	0.00	33.89
KTP012	0.00	0.00	90.91
KTP020	0.00	0.00	23.66
KTP025	0.00	0.00	62.33
KTP029	0.00	0.00	95.17
KTP036	0.00	0.00	51.33
KTP037	0.00	0.00	61.65
KTP043	0.00	0.00	70.00
KTP048	0.00	1.06	64.75
KTP050	0.00	0.00	85.05
KTP052	0.00	0.00	62.28
KTP053	0.00	0.00	49.98
KTP059	0.00	0.00	9.05
KTP061	0.00	0.00	90.36
KTP063	0.00	0.00	29.13
KTP070	0.00	0.00	98.30
KTP071	0.00	0.00	56.98
KTP078	0.00	0.00	92.51
KTP081	0.00	0.00	97.80
KTP083	0.00	0.00	67.36

Group 3 (n=10)			
Probabilities of membership in:			
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
KTP013	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP014	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP018	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP024	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP038	0.00	0.01	0.00
KTP056	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP057	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP094	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP146	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP158	0.00	0.00	0.00

Group 5 (n=3)			
Probabilities of membership in:			
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
KTP107	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP111	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP179	0.00	0.00	0.00

Group 4 (n=57) Probabilities of membership in:				Unassigned (n=32) Probabilities membership in:			
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 4		Group 1	Group 2	Group 4
KTPo85	0.00	0.00	46.81	KTPo04	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTPo86	0.00	0.00	97.47	KTPo05	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTPo88	0.00	0.00	80.58	KTPo17	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTPo89	0.00	0.00	94.56	KTPo19	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTPo92	0.00	0.00	99.56	KTPo21	0.00	0.04	0.67
KTPo98	0.00	0.00	87.34	KTPo22	0.00	0.00	0.78
KTPo99	0.00	0.00	68.35	KTPo23	0.00	0.00	0.64
KTP102	0.00	0.00	86.82	KTPo32	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP104	0.00	0.08	50.19	KTPo41	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP106	0.00	0.00	15.51	KTPo47	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP108	0.00	0.00	73.82	KTPo64	0.10	0.00	0.00
KTP109	0.00	0.00	99.39	KTPo69	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP110	0.00	0.00	77.77	KTPo75	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP114	0.00	0.00	99.66	KTPo87	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP115	0.00	0.00	76.60	KTPo97	0.48	0.00	0.00
KTP117	0.00	0.00	93.00	KTP100	0.01	0.00	0.00
KTP118	0.00	0.00	93.45	KTP105	0.00	0.16	0.00
KTP121	0.00	0.00	76.00	KTP141	0.00	0.02	0.00
KTP123	0.00	0.00	49.69	KTP147	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP125	0.00	0.00	94.45	KTP148	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP127	0.00	0.00	94.91	KTP175	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP129	0.00	0.00	99.88	KTP176	0.00	0.16	0.00
KTP130	0.00	0.00	95.54	KTP177	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP131	0.00	0.00	86.65	KTP178	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP132	0.00	0.00	97.43	KTP180	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP133	0.00	0.00	63.88	KTP185	0.00	0.17	0.00
KTP134	0.00	0.00	93.33	KTP189	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP136	0.00	0.03	58.28	KTP194	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP140	0.00	0.00	73.87	DO6709	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP144	0.00	0.00	60.05	DO6710	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP149	0.00	0.00	98.01	DO6711	0.00	0.00	0.00
KTP150	0.00	0.00	65.89	DO6712	0.00	0.43	0.02
KTP188	0.00	0.00	76.12				
KTP190	0.00	0.00	75.07				
KTP191	0.00	0.00	49.11				
KTP192	0.00	0.00	58.77				
KTP193	0.00	0.00	72.02				

Table 3. Means and Coefficients of Variation for the Four Major Compositional Groups.

Element	Group 1 (n=30)		Group 2 (n=47)		Group 3 (n=10)		Group 4 (n=57)	
	Mean	C.V.	Mean	C.V.	Mean	C.V.	Mean	C.V.
Na %	1.11	6.6	0.988	15.3	0.714	12.7	0.596	32.6
K %	2.77	6.3	1.29	14.3	1.51	9.5	0.852	16.5
Ca %	3.43	23.3	13.3	15.3	11.3	20.0	11.2	14.8
Sc ppm	19.6	4.6	17.0	9.8	17.3	5.7	15.1	8.8
Cr ppm	165.	6.0	406.	13.0	486.	16.9	779.	16.7
Fe %	4.99	4.6	4.40	10.4	4.74	5.4	4.77	5.8
Zn ppm	110.	10.2	89.2	17.5	102.	11.0	74.6	17.4
Rb ppm	163.	6.0	59.9	15.8	68.6	8.4	42.7	17.4
Sr ppm	n.d.		468.	20.2	401.	17.4	381.	17.2
Cs ppm	8.42	6.9	3.09	13.1	3.63	8.7	2.50	15.5
Ba ppm	575.	17.4	315.	25.2	299.	32.7	308.	29.5
La ppm	41.8	2.5	21.6	9.1	30.4	5.9	17.9	8.6
Ce ppm	77.1	2.8	38.4	7.9	56.4	4.6	32.0	9.3
Nd ppm	32.7	10.8	16.1	25.7	22.8	15.3	13.0	16.8
Sm ppm	6.38	5.4	3.83	8.0	4.89	8.5	3.01	8.2
Eu ppm	1.34	2.0	0.943	6.0	1.09	5.8	0.750	9.8
Tb ppm	1.02	12.0	0.599	15.9	0.766	19.2	0.473	18.9
Yb ppm	3.08	7.8	2.16	9.6	2.35	4.8	1.68	11.6
Lu ppm	0.411	10.3	0.305	13.7	0.343	15.2	0.249	15.3
Hf ppm	5.10	9.4	3.32	10.4	3.67	6.7	2.62	12.2
Ta ppm	1.81	45.3	0.698	18.4	1.06	12.8	0.631	20.3
Th ppm	13.5	2.9	5.67	11.2	7.63	4.9	4.63	10.4
U ppm	1.43	33.1	0.94	36.3	1.26	27.5	0.77	36.7

Zur eisenzeitlichen Wohnarchitektur Ostgeorgiens

Florian S. KNAUß

Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München
Meiserstraße 10
D-80333 München
GERMANY
E-mail: knauss@antike-am-koenigsplatz.mwn.de

Abstract

Iron-Age residential architecture in Eastern Georgia

Recent archaeological research provided new evidence of strong Achaemenid influence upon the material culture of this region, especially in the field of (monumental) architecture. The investigation of residential buildings of the ordinary people in Eastern Georgia (Kakheti and Kartli) comes up with a different picture: Iron-Age sites (8th–3rd centuries BC) provided merely modest private houses with pisé (Kakheti) or rubble walls (Kartli). Often they consisted of just a single multi-functional room. While the manner of building was quite simple, a modest decoration of the living rooms could be observed in quite a few cases, however. So far, we may conclude that the local architecture not only lacks the monumental size of the well known »Achaemenid« buildings in Eastern Georgia but also a number of constructional details, even in Post-Achaemenid times. The impact of Persian rule mainly concerned the local aristocracies.

Die archäologische Feldforschung hat in den vergangenen Jahren unser Bild von Ostgeorgien in der Eisenzeit um wesentliche Facetten bereichern können. Als ein wichtiges Ergebnis kann festgehalten werden, daß dieses Gebiet in der Zeit des achaimenidischen Weltreiches bedeutende Impulse aus eben jenem empfangen hat. Deutete sich dies im Bereich der Toreutik schon länger an,¹ so können wir dasselbe inzwischen auch für die Architektur

¹ Smirnov 1909, 7 Taf. III 14; Smirnov 1934, XV. 23–29. 34–35. 37–38. 39–46 Taf. III 26; IV 47. 51; V 58; VI 53–55. 58; VII 56–57; VIII 61; IX 62; X 62; XI 63; XII 64; Gagoshidze 1996, 127; Knauß 1999 a, 218–221. Vgl. auch die achaimenidischen Glasgefäße aus georgischen

festhalten. Ja, es zeigt sich sogar, daß wahrhaft monumentale Architektur überhaupt erst in dieser Periode aufkommt und dabei unmittelbare fremde Einflußnahme verrät.²

Die im folgenden vorgestellten Untersuchungen haben sich zum Ziel gesetzt, der Frage nachzugehen, inwieweit auch die einfache Wohnarchitektur gegenüber Einflüssen aus der benachbarten Hochkultur aufgeschlossen war. Es soll überprüft werden, ob sich der oben angesprochene Akkulturationsprozeß in allen Bevölkerungsgruppen fassen läßt, oder ob er vielleicht nur auf die lokale Führungsschicht beschränkt blieb.³

In der späten Bronze- bzw. frühen Eisenzeit entstanden in Georgien bereits gelegentlich Verteidigungsanlagen von beachtlicher Größe, die vielfach den Charakter von Fluchtburgen haben.⁴ Für die Existenz monumentaler Einzelbauten fehlt aber bislang jeglicher Beleg. Ein langgestrecktes Gebäude von über 20 m Länge in Naomari Gora in der David-Garedshi-Steppe, das wahrscheinlich als Speicherbau gedient hat, bildet eine Ausnahme.⁵ Wegen seiner einfachen Struktur kann es aber kaum als Beleg für Monumentalarchitektur gelten. Es soll an dieser Stelle keinesfalls die Möglichkeit bestritten werden, daß es in Iberien auch schon vor dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. große Einzelbauten (öffentlicher Funktion) gegeben haben kann. Es ist jedoch nach dem heutigen Kenntnisstand sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Gebäude auch hinsichtlich ihrer Bauweise als »monumental« bezeichnet werden können. Dasselbe gilt auch für die ungefähr gleichzeitige Holzarchitektur in der Kolchis.⁶

Fundplätzen; Gagoshije & Saginashvili 1973, 81–97; Makharadze & Saginashvili 1999, 11–17; Saginashvili 2000, 72–76; Gagoshidze & Saginashvili 2001.

² Furtwängler 1996, 183–185, 188–194; Furtwängler & Knauß 1997, 370–379; Gagoshidze 1996, 129–134; Knauß 1999 b, 90, 94–97, 100–105; Gagoshidze & Kipiani 2001, 59–64; Knauß 2001 a, 119, 125–128; Knauß 2001 b.

³ Knauß 1999 a, 220–221. Die gleiche Fragestellung verfolgt auch der Beitrag von Ludwig 2005.

⁴ z.B. die befestigten Siedlungen bei Nordewani und Gumbati in Kwemo-Kartli mit jeweils einer erhöht gelegenen Zitadelle (Mepiaschwili *et al.* 1987, Abb. 16–21) oder die Befestigungsanlage von Beschtascheni in Trialeti (Kuftin 1941, 108–109 Taf. CXVI–CXVII).

⁵ Miron & Orthman 1995, 116 Abb. 106 [Pitskhelauri]. Die Anlage wird um die Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jt. v. Chr. datiert. »Ein saartiges Gebäude von mehr als 120 m² Fläche« aus der zweiten Hälfte des 8. oder der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. in der Siedlung von Treligorebi (Miron & Orthmann 1995, 198 [R. & M. Abramischwili]) ist leider bis heute unpubliziert.

⁶ Vgl. Kipiani 1977; Lezhava 1978, 8–9, 17–18 Taf. 33–42; Lordkipanidse 1991, 116.

Kachetien

Bis vor wenigen Jahren blieb die Architektur des östlichsten Teils Georgiens nahezu vollständig im Dunkel. Die in den letzten Jahren im Alasani-Tal und in der Shiraki-Ebene durchgeführten Ausgrabungen gaben daher erste Aufschlüsse und lieferten z.T. überraschende neue Erkenntnisse.⁷

Von den in Ciskaraant Gora in der ältesten Schicht E freigelegten Häusern ist Haus II (**Abb. 1**) am besten erhalten.⁸ Es gehört noch ins späte 8. oder frühe 7. Jh. v. Chr.⁹

Um eine große gepflasterte Hoffläche ordnen sich hier die verschiedenen Räume an. Im Süden liegen kleine Räume, die vielleicht als Stallungen oder Lagerräume gedient haben. Im Norden liegt der große langgestreckte Wohnraum, der von Westen über den kleinen Vorraum und vom Hof im Süden her zu betreten war. Der große Wohnraum im Norden war in sich möglicherweise noch unterteilt, wie eine Steinsetzung und die beiden unterschiedlichen Zugänge nahelegen. Diese räumliche Gliederung geht offenbar auch mit einer funktionalen Aufteilung einher. Im Westen liegt eine Ofenanlage, im äußersten Osten des Raumes dagegen befindet sich ein Steinpflaster. Etwas weiter westlich schlossen sich Regalierungen an, wie verkohlte Holzbalken und verbrannte Keramik zeigen. Während der Ostteil des Raumes also möglicherweise als Viehstall oder Waschplatz gedient haben kann, lag im Westen anscheinend der Küchen- und wohl auch der Schlaftrakt. Das große Steinpflaster südlich des Wohntraktes ist am ehesten als Stellplatz für Vieh zu interpretieren.

Die Mauern aus Stampflehm können aufgrund ihrer geringen Stärke nicht sehr hoch gewesen sein. Sie wurden durch Holzpfosten unterstützt.¹⁰ Neben den Stampflehmmauern verwandte man gelegentlich auch Flechtwerk.¹¹

Die Dachkonstruktion ließ sich aus den verbrannten und herabgestürzten Resten rekonstruieren. Offenbar wurde das flache Dach mit dünnen Balken abgedeckt und mit fingerdicken Ästen verflochten, bevor es schließlich mit Lehm verputzt wurde.¹²

⁷ Ludwig & Tauscher 2003, 5–10.

⁸ Siehe Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 343–347 Abb. 1. 19; Haus I von Ciskaraant Gora vertritt den gleichen Haustypus; ebenda 341–343 Abb. 17–18.

⁹ a.O. 352–354; zur Datierung vgl. ferner Motzenbäcker 2001, 211–223.

¹⁰ Zur Bauweise Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 381–383; Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 346–347.

¹¹ Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 382.

¹² Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 347.

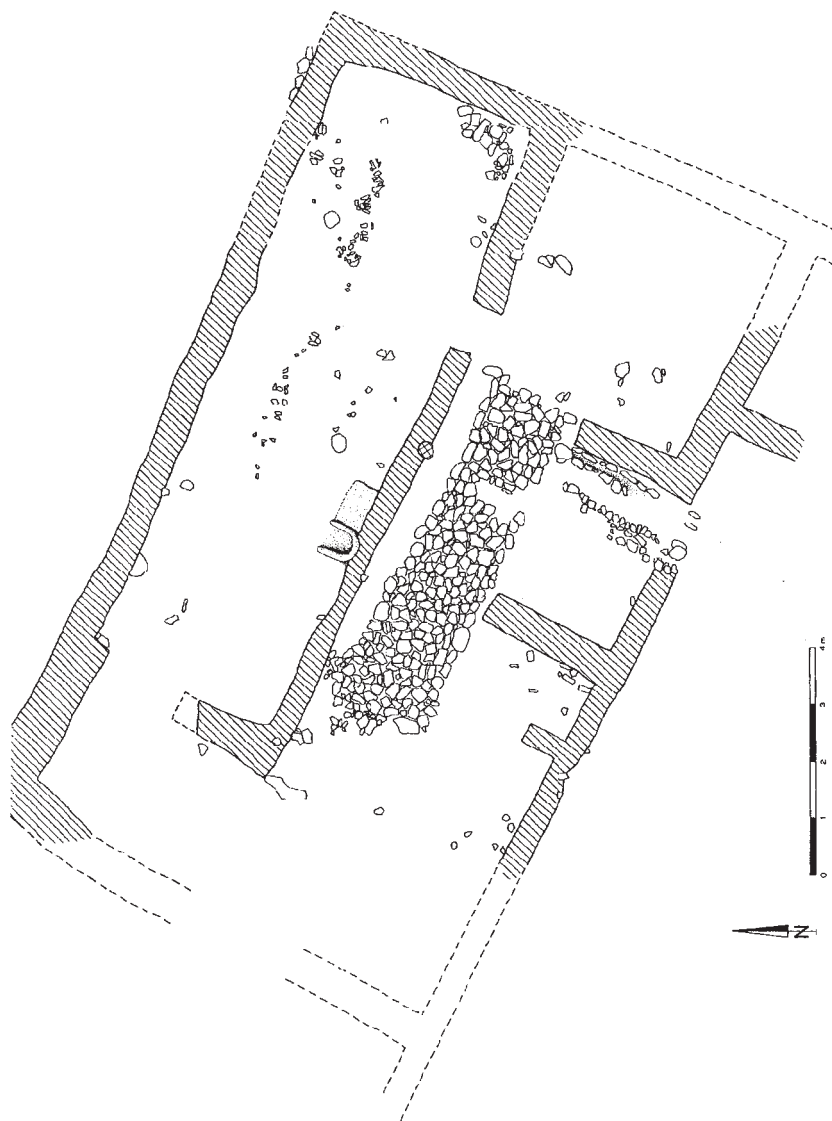


Abb. 1 Ciskaraant Gora, Schicht E, Haus II (Zeichnung F. Knauß)

Im ca. 10 km weiter nordöstlich gelegenen Noname Gora treffen wir in einem ungefähr zeitgleichen Horizont eine ganz ähnliche Architektur an (Abb. 2).¹³ Auch diese Anlage wurde in der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jhs. v. Chr. von Reiternomaden zerstört.¹⁴ Der Plan des Hauses ist weniger komplex, aber wir finden erneut einen langgestreckten Hauptraum. Wiederum an den Langseiten befinden sich jetzt sogar gleich mehrere Ofenanlagen. In dem umfriedeten Hof hat man auch hier mit großer Sorgfalt ein Steinpflaster verlegt. Die Bautechnik ist mit der in Ciskaraant Gora beobachteten völlig identisch und die Ofenanlagen vertreten denselben Typus wie dort (Abb. 3): Auf einem ehemals überwölbten Ofentisch mit einer Auflagefläche aus Schamott wurde wohl gebacken. Davor befindet sich eine Grube für die Asche, daneben eine weitere überwölbte Kammer, wahrscheinlich der eigentliche Brennraum.

Obwohl weder die Häuser von Ciskaraant Gora, noch das hier vorgestellte Haus von Noname Gora wahrscheinlich eine herausgehobene Funktion besaßen, hat man weder hier noch dort auf eine Ausschmückung verzichtet. Während in Noname Gora überwiegend einfache Zierelemente beobachtet werden konnten,¹⁵ die möglicherweise an der Ofenanlage ansetzen, fanden wir in Ciskaraant Gora eine Vielzahl von geometrisch verzierten Tonpinakes und theriomorph gebildeten Skulpturen aus ungebranntem Lehm, ferner Hörnermasken, die vielleicht an den Wänden hingen, sowie figürliche Terrakotten.¹⁶

Wie bei den ebenso zahlreich gefundenen Hörnermasken sollte auch bei den Tierskulpturen trotz einer möglichen magischen Funktion nicht auf eine primär kultische Nutzung der Gebäude, oder auch nur der jeweiligen Räume, geschlossen werden. Vielmehr kamen den großen Räumen neben den angesprochenen unterschiedlichen profanen auch noch in begrenztem Umfang sakrale Funktionen zu. Ackerbau und Viehzucht bildeten sehr wahrscheinlich die wesentlichen Lebensgrundlagen der Bewohner der Shiraki-Hochebene. Die plastische Wiedergabe der Tiere könnte gerade neben der Herdstelle dazu gedient haben, den Fortbestand dieser Arten zu beschwören.

¹³ Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 b, 265–266 Abb. 5.

¹⁴ Zur Datierung Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 b, 256–259. 262–263.

¹⁵ Ludwig & Tauscher 2003, 9.

¹⁶ Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 332–340. 348–352 Abb. 7, 5; 9, 2. 4; 14–16; 20–22. Hörnermasken und figürliche Terrakotten sind allerdings auch aus Noname Gora bekannt: Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 b, 247. 256 Abb. 19, 1–2 (»Hörnermasken«); eine 1999 gefundene Tierfigur ist noch unpubliziert.

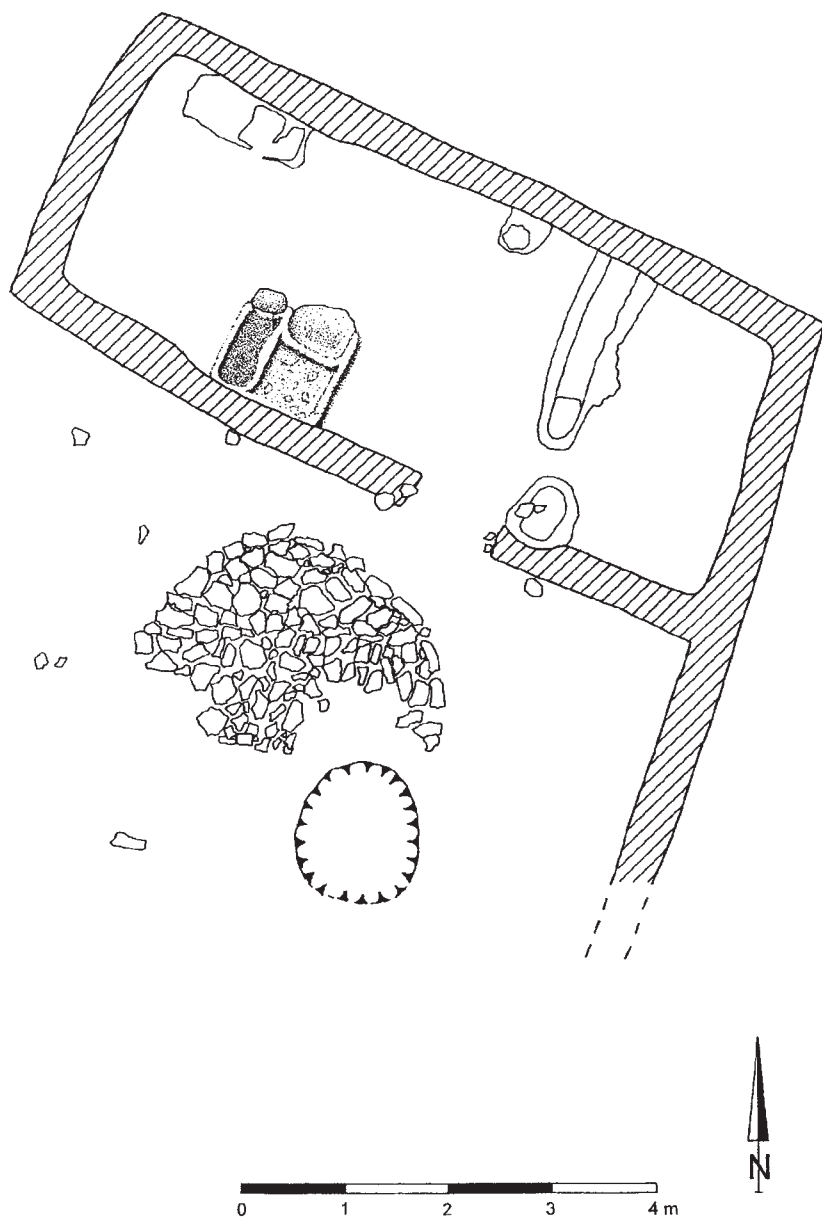


Abb. 2 Noname Gora, Wallhaus (Zeichnung F. Knauß)

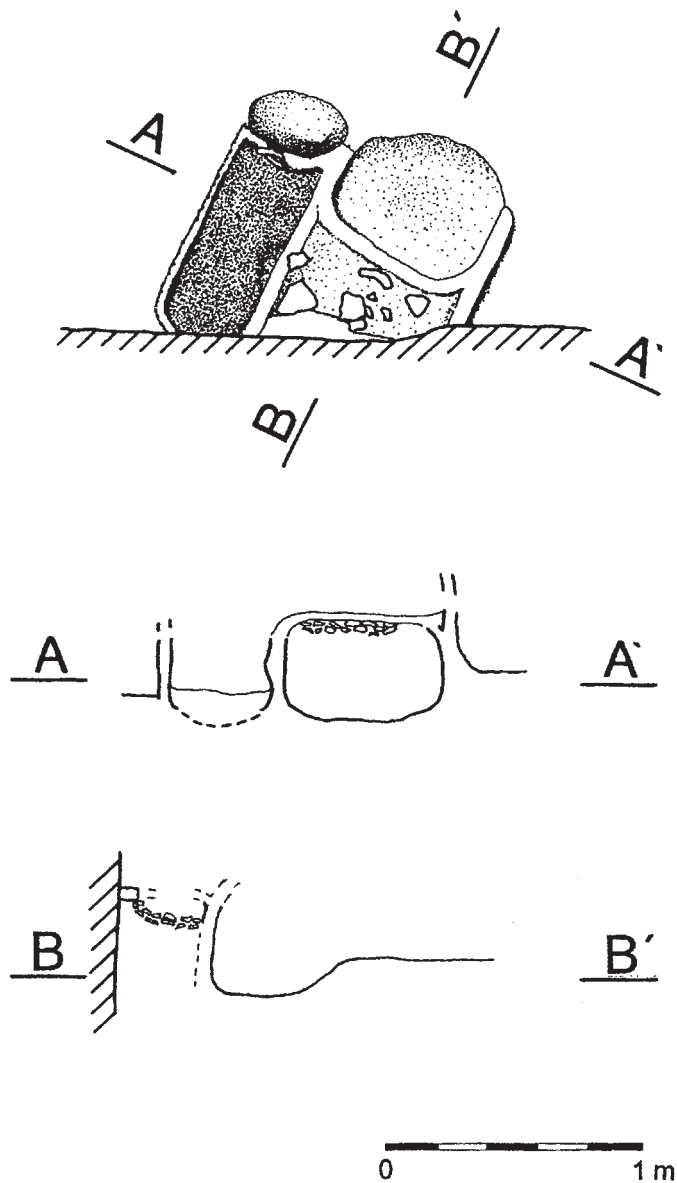


Abb. 3 Nongame Gora, Wallhaus, Ofenanlage (Zeichnung F. Knauß)

Kaum einmal läßt sich der Eindruck, den einfache Lehmhäuser im Inneren einstmals vermittelt haben, wiedergewinnen, da z.B. Wandteppiche nur sehr selten durch archäologische Ausgrabungen nachgewiesen werden können. Die Tonpinakes zeigen nun aber eindrucklich, daß die Innenwände von Wohnhäusern selbst der einfachen bäuerlichen Bevölkerung wahrscheinlich oft sehr viel lebendiger gestaltet waren, als es die vielfach spärlichen Befunde errahnen lassen. Trotz des einfachen Dekors, der an Textil- oder Flechtwerkmuster erinnert, wird diesen Motiven wohl eine symbolische Bedeutung zugekommen sein, die für uns heute kaum noch zu erschließen ist.¹⁷

In der anhand der Keramik und der C¹⁴-Daten in das späte 7. oder beginnende 6. Jh. v. Chr. datierten Schicht C von Ciskaraant Gora scheint die Anlage der Bauten der Schicht E weitgehend übernommen worden zu sein.¹⁸

Dasselbe gilt möglicherweise auch noch für Schicht B (Abb. 4), die wir vorläufig nur sehr ungenau ins 4. oder 3. Jh. v. Chr. setzen möchten¹⁹: Der Vergleich der Anlage mit der ältesten Bebauung der Periode E zeigt eine ganz ähnliche Orientierung der Häuser. Auch der langgestreckte Wohnraum mit Herdanlage an der Südwand und der Hof, der diesem südwestlich quer vorgelagert ist, stimmen mit den älteren Häusern überein. Allein die Steinfundamentierung der Lehmmauern stellt eine erkennbare architektonische Neuerung der Periode B dar.

Im Alasani-Tal in Tqisbolo Gora und in Didi Gora konnten in jüngster Zeit zwei eisenzeitliche Siedlungen untersucht werden, deren Architektur leider bis zum heutigen Tag nicht hinreichend veröffentlicht ist. Nach der vorliegenden Publikation gehört die Schicht II von Tqisbolo Gora der älteren Eisenzeit an und datiert um 1000-800 v. Chr.²⁰ Die einräumigen Häuser maßen 7,00 x 3,50 m. Im Unterschied zu den etwas jüngeren Häusern von Shiraki bestanden die Wände aus Flechtwerk mit Lehmverputz. Sie besaßen jeweils eine mit Kieseln ausgelegte und im oberen Teil mit Ton verstrichene Sickergrube sowie rechteckige Herdanlagen aus Feldsteinen

¹⁷ Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 339–340. 349. 352.

¹⁸ Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 378–380 Abb. 23; zur Datierung Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 354. Der Architekturbefund der Schicht C ist jedoch sehr fragmentarisch und läßt ein abschließendes Urteil nicht zu.

¹⁹ Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 340–341 Abb. 2; zur Datierung Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 358. 370; Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 353.

²⁰ Mansfeld 1996, 371.

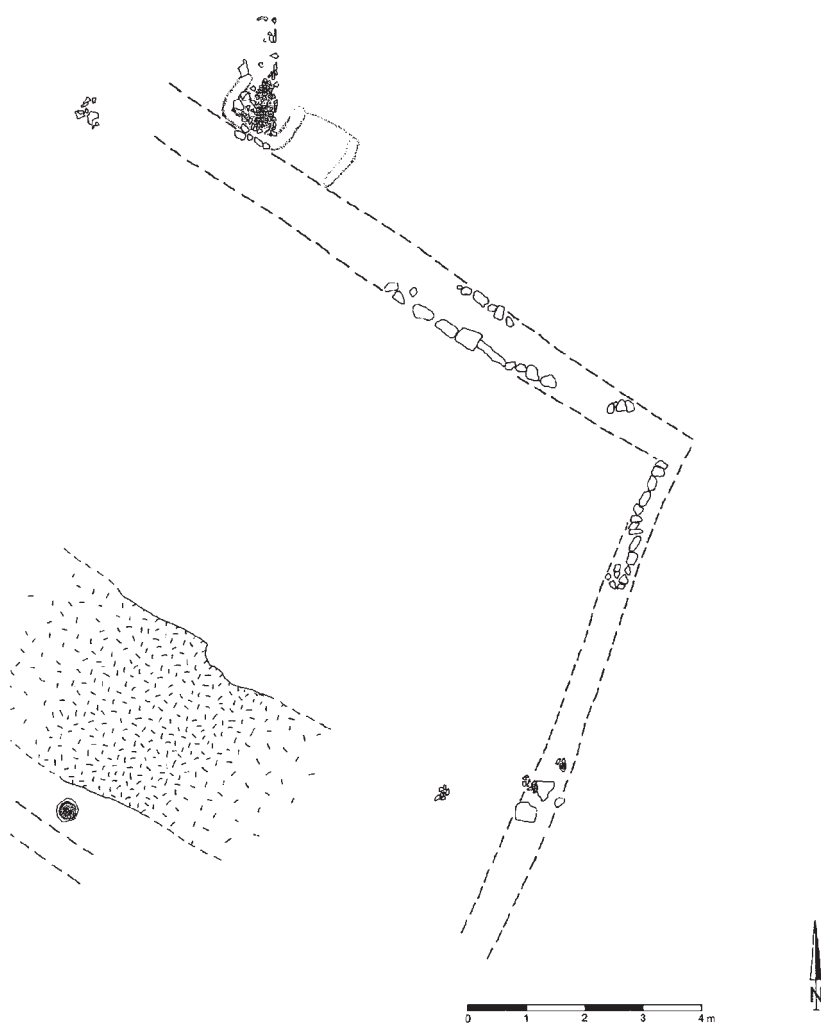


Abb. 4 Ciskaraant Gora, Schicht B, Wohnhaus (Zeichnung F. Knauß)

mit Tonummantelung,²¹ die ganz genau dem aus Ciskaraant Gora bekannten Typus entsprechen. Auch in Tqisbolo Gora waren an den Ecken des Herdes mit Stäben theriomorphe Tonskulpturen befestigt.²²

²¹ Mansfeld 1996, 371 Abb. 10–11.

²² Mansfeld 1996, 371 Abb. 12.

Über die früheisenzeitlichen Häuser von Didi Gora läßt sich derzeit noch weniger sagen; sie sollen denen von Ciskaraant Gora in Bauweise und Anlage entsprochen haben.²³ Auch von der eisenzeitlichen Siedlung in Mochrili-Gora liegt kein Plan vor.²⁴

So muß man denn zugeben, daß die Materialbasis für ein repräsentatives Bild von der kachetischen Wohnarchitektur bislang unzureichend ist. Die archäologisch dokumentierten Wohnhäuser weisen aber bereits ab dem 8. Jh. v. Chr. z.T. eine beachtliche Größe und Komplexität auf. Dies gilt nicht nur für ihre Abmessungen, sondern auch für ihre dekorative Ausstattung. Dem steht freilich mindestens bis ins 4./3. Jh. v. Chr. eine eher primitive Bauweise gegenüber, die keinerlei Anregungen aus den Hochkulturen Anatoliens und Persiens aufgenommen zu haben scheint.²⁵ Zumindest in Shiraki offenbaren die Häuser eine überraschend große Einheitlichkeit hinsichtlich Plan, Bautechnik und Baudekor.

Kartli

Die kleinen Wohnhäuser in Samtawro (**Abb. 5**), die zeitlich bislang nur sehr ungenau in die frühe Eisenzeit eingeordnet werden konnten, sind lediglich einräumig.²⁶ Allerdings wird behauptet, es hätten sich Wirtschaftsräume an der Vorderseite des Wohnraumes angeschlossen.²⁷ Die genannten Häuser weisen auch nicht den charakteristischen lang-rechteckigen Grundriß auf, den die Haupträume der meisten kachetischen Häuser besitzen. Ein Bindeglied stellt dagegen ihre Multifunktionalität dar. Auch in Samtawro finden wir Schlafstatt, Backofen, Sakralbereich, Regale und sogar Stallung zusammen in einem Raum. Deutlich verschieden ist wiederum die Bauweise: Das Haus ist zur Hälfte in den Hang eingetieft. Die Wände sind aus Bruch- und Feldsteinen gebaut, die mit Tonmörtel verbunden und anschließend verputzt wurden. Das Haus besaß ebenfalls ein Flachdach, das aber wegen der Breite

²³ So Korfmann *et al.* 1999, 541–542 mit Abb. 8–9. Der vorgelegte Befund von Didi Gora erlaubt es nicht, diese Annahme zu überprüfen.

²⁴ Pitshelauri 1973, *passim*; Muschelishvili 1978.

²⁵ Angesichts fehlender dokumentierter Befunde für die vorangehende wie für die folgende Zeit kann nur vermutet werden, daß sich hier die Bauweise derartiger einfacher Wohnhäuser seit der Bronzezeit und möglicherweise bis ins Mittelalter nahezu nicht verändert hat.

²⁶ Lordkipanidse 1991, 88 Abb. 45; Knauß 1999 b, 92–93 Abb. 8.

²⁷ Lordkipanidse 1991, 88.

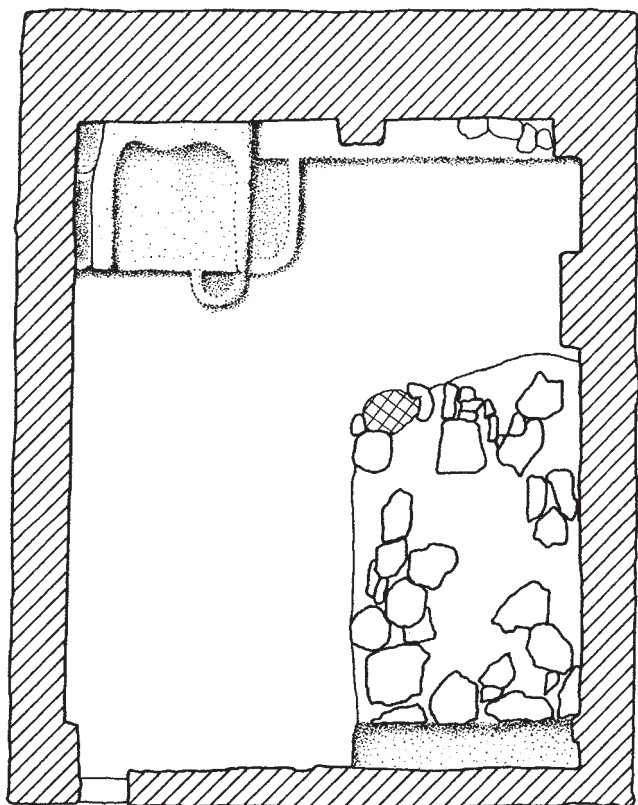


Abb. 5 Samtawro, früheisenzeitliches Wohnhaus
(Zeichnung D. Wicke nach Lordkipanidse 1991, Abb. 45)

des Raumes eine zentrale Pfostenstellung erforderte.²⁸ Auch die Aufstellung von Tonskulpturen findet sich in Samtawro wieder. Allerdings standen hier wohl vier anthropomorphe Tonfiguren auf einem Opfertisch mit hoher Lehne.²⁹

Aus dem weiter westlich, in Schida Kartli gelegenen Staliniris Nacargora (Abb. 6), ist ein spätbronze-/früheisenzeitliches Haus publiziert³⁰, dessen Anlage sich nur undeutlich zu erkennen gibt. Offensichtlich hatte es einen ähnlichen rechteckigen Grundriß. Es wurde auch im wesentlichen aus unbearbeiteten Steinen errichtet. Interessant ist hier zu beobachten, daß es u.a. einen einfachen Altar besaß (Abb. 7), der eine abstrakte geometrische Reliefverzierung trug, die als Geweih gedeutet wird.³¹ Damit läßt sich eine Verbindung zu Ciskaraant Gora herstellen, wo wir geometrisch verzierte Tonpinakes und ganz ähnliche Muster auf den »Brotstempeln« kennengelernt haben³².

Aus der Siedlung von Katnalichevi in Schida-Kartli lassen sich am besten die Tonskulpturen – Hörner und ein Tierkopf – mit Funden aus Shiraki vergleichen.³³ Die Architektur konnte nur undeutlich dokumentiert werden. Nach den vorgelegten Zeichnungen zu schließen, entsprach sie jedoch der aus den o.g. Plätzen in Kartli bekannten.³⁴

²⁸ Auch die in den letzten Jahren von der Mzcheta-Expedition freigelegten Häuser im nur wenige Kilometer entfernten Narekvavi (Kalandadsigora III) gleichen denjenigen aus Samtawro hinsichtlich Bautechnik und Anlage fast vollständig; Apakidze *et al.* 2001, 6–10 Taf. 2; 3; 11, 1–2. Die Häuser 2 und 3 werden anhand der Keramikfunde, welche sich mit denjenigen aus dem Friedhof von Narekvavi gut vergleichen lassen, in das 8. – 6. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

²⁹ Lordkipanidze 1991, 88.

³⁰ Gobejishvili 1951; Beriashvili 1988, 173 Taf. 71, 1; Lordkipanidze 1991, 87. Den Publikationen ist eine genauere Datierung der Siedlung von Staliniris Nacargora nicht zu entnehmen.

³¹ Gobejishvili 1951; Beriashvili 1988, Taf. 71, 2.

³² Furtwängler/Knauf 1998, Abb. 17; vgl. ferner Lordkipanidze 1969, 12–29 bes. Abb. 14, 14a, 21. 24 Taf. 1, 8. 12. Derartige »Brotstempel« sind in Transkaukasien weit verbreitet; dazu zuletzt Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 371–374 [Löhr]; vgl. ferner Korfmann *et al.* 1999, Abb. 15; Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 b, Abb. 24, 6.

³³ Beriashvili 1988, 171 Taf. 64, 1; 67, 1–2 (Hörner); 68, 1 (Tierkopf). Zu vergleichbaren »Hörnermasken« sowie kleinformatigen Tierfiguren siehe zuletzt Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 a, 332–340 Abb. 7, 2; 14, 1–2; 15; 16; Furtwängler *et al.* 1999 b, Abb. 19, 1. Für die Tonmaske in Gestalt eines menschlichen Antlitzes aus Katnalichevi (Beriashvili 1988, 170 Taf. 62, 1) fehlen hingegen in Shiraki bislang schlagende Parallelen.

³⁴ Beriashvili 1988, 170–171 Taf. 63 (Räume 1 und 2). 65 (Raum 3); der kleine Altar (a.O. Taf. 66, 1–2) findet eine ungefähre typologische Parallele in einem Haus aus Chowle Gora (Kushnareva 1977, Abb. 62, 3).

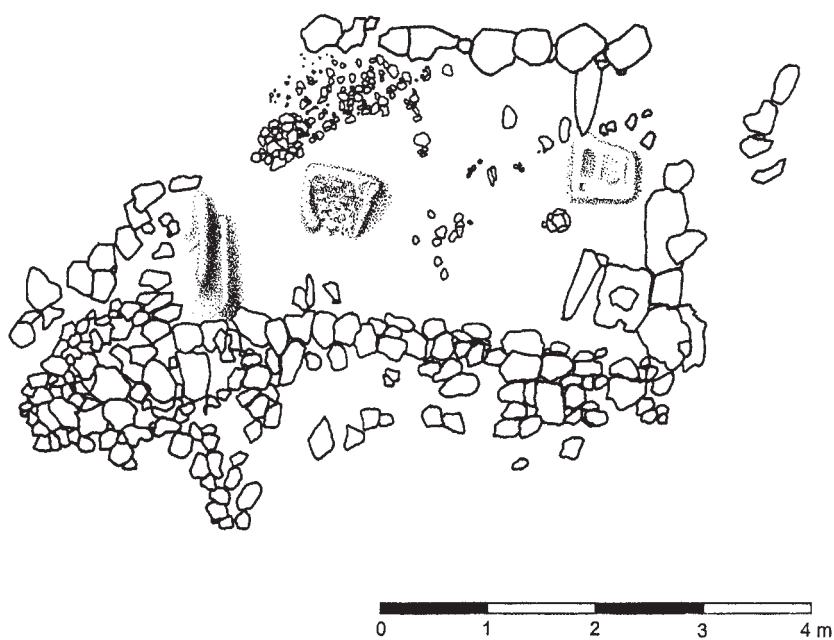


Abb. 6 Staliniris Nacargora, Haus (Zeichnung D. Wicke nach Beriashvili 1988, Taf. 71, 1)

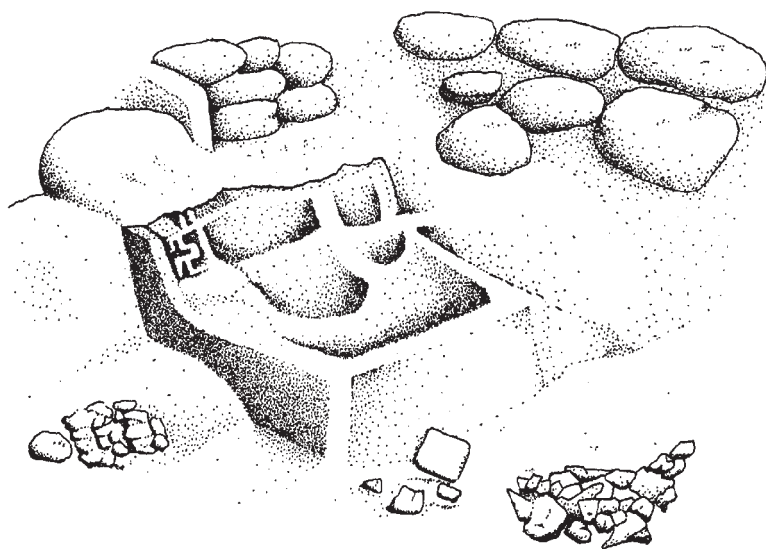


Abb. 7 Staliniris Nacargora, Altar (Zeichnung D. Wicke nach Beriashvili 1988, Taf. 71, 2)

In der südgeorgischen Siedlung des 7. bis 6. Jhs. v. Chr. in Grmachevisti konnten insgesamt elf Häuser freigelegt werden.³⁵ Vier davon (Komplexe Nr. 1, 3, 4, 5) lassen ihre ursprüngliche Anlage deutlich erkennen. Es handelt sich jeweils um einräumige, rechteckige Komplexe mit Mauern aus unbearbeiteten Bruchsteinen und Kieseln. Die Fußböden bestehen aus Lehm, nur in Haus 1 (Abb. 8) ist eine größere Fläche steingepflastert. Vielleicht standen dort zeitweilig auch Tiere. Die Installationen konnten hier nicht so genau beobachtet werden wie in Kachetien. Ob etwa die unterschiedlichen »Podeste« an der Nordwestwand und in der Raummitte rein wirtschaftliche oder vielleicht auch sakrale Funktionen hatten, muß deshalb offen bleiben. Zumindest in Haus 1 scheint eine Ofenanlage in der Norddecke des Raumes erkennbar, die nach Meinung der Ausgräber zum Brotbacken diente.³⁶ Dasselbe Haus besaß zudem eine Wirtschaftsgrube, die bei den kachetischen Häusern eigenartigerweise im Inneren noch nicht beobachtet werden konnte.³⁷

Von der bedeutenden Siedlung in Chowle Gora liegt leider bis heute keine Dokumentation der Architektur vor.³⁸ Es existiert lediglich eine Rekonstruktionszeichnung eines Altares (Abb. 9),³⁹ die uns eine Vorstellung vermittelt, wie möglicherweise der plastische Schmuck an den Ofenanlagen in Kachetien ausgesehen haben mag.

Schließlich steht leider auch von der eisenzeitlichen Siedlung von Treligorebi am Stadtrand von Tbilisi bis heute eine Publikation aus. Lediglich einige eindrucksvolle Kleinfunde wurden bislang vorgelegt.⁴⁰ Nach der knappen Beschreibung der Ausgräber zu schließen, unterscheiden sich die

³⁵ Abramishvili *et al.* 1980, 89–93. 201–202 Abb. 67 (Haus 1). 69 (Haus 3). 71 (Haus 4). 72 (Haus 5). 76 (Teilplan). Der Architekturbefund der südgeorgischen Siedlung von Atskuri liegt noch nicht vollständig vor. Hier sind wichtige Aufschlüsse vor allem für das 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr. zu erwarten; Morin 1997; Licheli 2001, 252–253.

³⁶ Nach Abramishvili *et al.* 1980, 202, konnte eine ähnliche Ofenanlage nicht nur in Haus 1 (a.O. Abb. 67), sondern auch in Haus 8 beobachtet werden.

³⁷ In Ciskaraant Gora gibt es in der Schicht D eine Reihe von Vorratsgruben, die jeweils außerhalb der Häuser liegen; Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 358–359. Eine Grube mit Getreideresten im »Wallhaus« von Noname Gora könnte als Wirtschaftsgrube interpretiert werden.

³⁸ Der Ausgräber (Muschelishvili 1978) hat lediglich das keramische Fundmaterial vorgelegt. Der umfangreiche architektonische Befund soll jedoch dankenswerterweise demnächst von G. Kipiani publiziert werden. Die besondere Bedeutung von Chowle Gora liegt u.a. darin, daß hier über einen längeren Zeitraum eine stratigraphische Abfolge beobachtet werden konnte, die die Grundlage für eine zuverlässige relative und absolute Chronologie bilden kann.

³⁹ Kushnareva 1977, Abb. 62, 3.

⁴⁰ Lordkipanidze 1991, 88. 91. 92; Miron & Orthmann 1995, 198 Abb. 206–208.

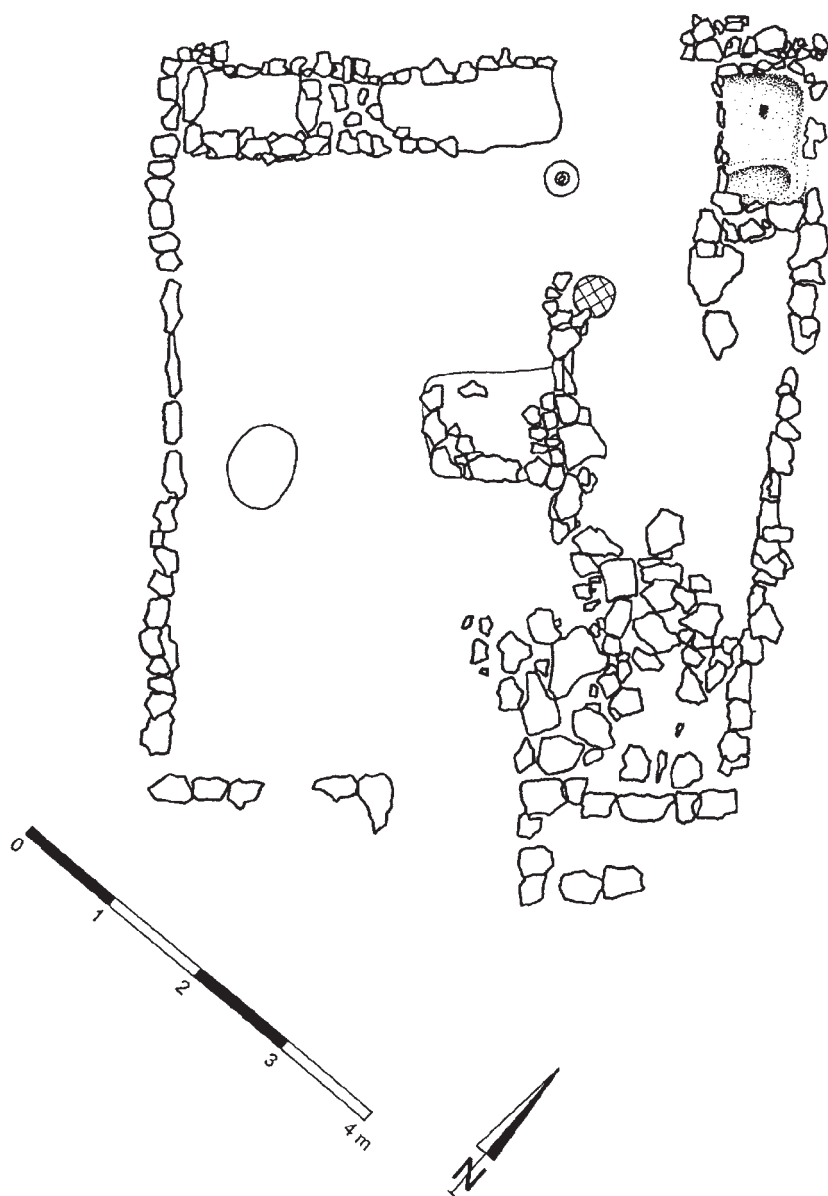


Abb. 8 Grmachevistavi, Haus 1
(Zeichnung D. Wicke nach Abramishvili *et al.* 1980, Abb. 67)

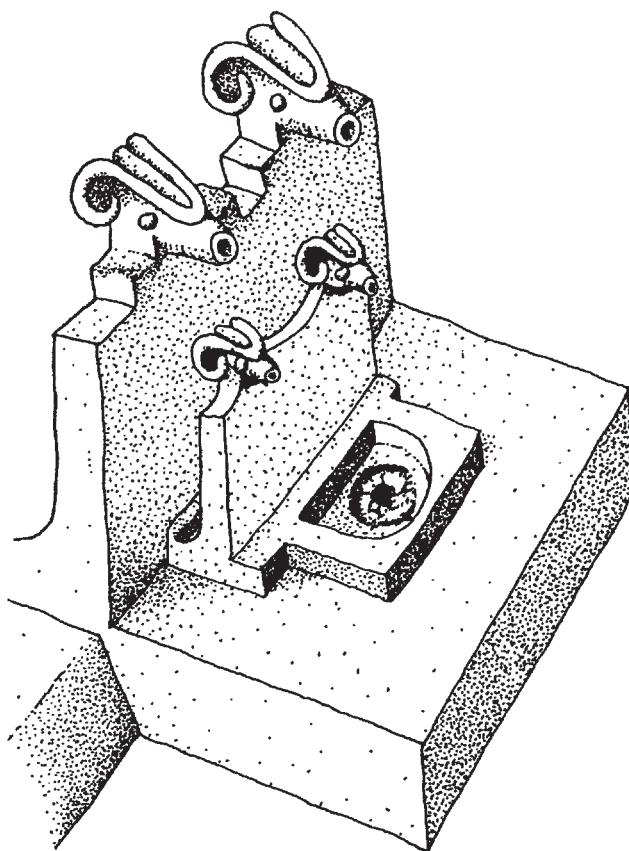


Abb. 9 Chowle Gora, Rekonstruktion eines eisenzeitlichen Altares
(Zeichnung D. Wicke nach Kushnareva 1977, Abb. 62, 3)

Häuser von Treligorebi in Anlage und Bautechnik kaum von denen in Samtawro.⁴¹ Allerdings konnte in Treligorebi beobachtet werden, daß an dem steilen Hang die flachen Hausdächer oftmals wohl als Hofterrasse des nächsthöher gelegenen Hauses gedient haben.

Ergebnis

Die bautechnischen Unterschiede zwischen Kachetien und Kartli mögen durch das jeweilige Klima und die zur Verfügung stehenden Baustoffe

⁴¹ Miron & Orthmann 1995, 198 [R. & M. Abramishvili].

bedingt sein. Aber strukturell scheint sich die Architektur Kartlis in der frühen Eisenzeit noch nicht wesentlich von der Kachetiens unterschieden zu haben. Einfache Räume vereinigten vielfältige Funktionen, selbst der profane und der sakrale Bereich wurden in ihrer architektonischen Erscheinungsform noch nicht geschieden. Daraus lassen sich nun einerseits die eher bescheidenen materiellen Verhältnisse der Bevölkerung und andererseits eine noch verhältnismäßig einfache gesellschaftliche Struktur ableiten.⁴² Die relative Einheitlichkeit der Bauten spricht gegen eine ausgeprägte soziale Hierarchie.

Weder die Welle der gewaltsamen Zerstörungen vieler ostgeorgischer Siedlungen im Zusammenhang mit den Angriffen von Reiternomaden im späten 8. und im 7. Jh. v. Chr., noch die Herrschaft der Achaimeniden haben erkennbare Spuren in der architektonischen Entwicklung Kachetiens hinterlassen. Keine der bei der Monumentalarchitektur beobachteten Neuerungen dieser Zeit – regelmäßige orthogonale Plananlagen, Verwendung von luftgetrockneten Lehmziegeln, Schmuckfassaden oder steinerner Bauschmuck – läßt sich wiederfinden.⁴³ Erst in etwas späterer Zeit, vielleicht im späten 4. oder im 3. Jh. v. Chr. scheint sich die Anlage eines Steinfundamentes für die wohl weiterhin aus Stampflehm errichteten Mauern durchzusetzen. Diese Beobachtungen gelten selbst für die Nachbesiedlungen der einstigen achaimenidischen Palastanlage von Gumbati.⁴⁴ Hier haben sich nach der Zerstörung des Palastes wohl noch einige Leute zeitweilig in den Ruinen aufgehalten. Die eher kümmerlichen Behausungen haben die bautechnischen Innovationen der Achaimenidenzeit aber nicht wieder aufgegriffen.

Etwas anders scheint die Situation in Kartli gewesen zu sein. Grundsätzlich konnten hier einige Orte ihre herausgehobene Bedeutung bewahren. In diesen Zentren finden wir noch größere Anlagen wie z.B. in Zichiagora, wo auch in post-achaimenidischer Zeit noch Lehmziegel und Mauern mit quadratischen Türmen und durch Risalite gegliederten Fassaden anzutreffen sind.⁴⁵ Auch in der Siedlung von Nastakisi bei Samadlo werden nun

⁴² Dazu vgl. Morin 2005.

⁴³ Furtwängler & Knauf 1997, 370–376; Gagoshidze 1996, 130–133; Knauf 1999 b, 87–92 und passim; Knauf 2001 a, 125–127; Knauf 2001 b, 129.

⁴⁴ Furtwängler 1996, 180–183; Furtwängler & Knauf 1997, 365–367. 369; Furtwängler & Knauf 1998, 354; Knauf 1999 b, 106–107.

⁴⁵ Zkitischwili 1995, 86–87 Abb. 1; Macharadze, S. 1999, 57–61 Taf. 1; Macharadze, S. 2001, 143–145. 158 (Zichiagora). Ähnlich verhält es sich auch in Samadlo; Gagoshidze 1979, 34–40. 53–57. 65. Zu vergleichbaren post-achaimenidischen Anlagen sowie allgemein zur

Lehmziegel, gebrannte Dachziegel und andere technische Neuerungen verwandt, die aus dem Perserreich oder von den Griechen übernommen worden sind.⁴⁶ Die Herleitung der charakteristischen Holz-Erde-Mauern (nicht unähnlich der Mauertechnik des sog. »*murus gallicus*«), die wir seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. in Samadlo und Zichiagora, aber auch in der Kolchis, in Vani und Mtisdsiri, beobachten können, kann noch nicht als geklärt angesehen werden.⁴⁷ Eine indigene Entstehung ist nicht auszuschließen.

Unter dem Vorbehalt, daß die Materialvorlage noch keinesfalls als repräsentativ angesehen werden darf,⁴⁸ drängt sich der Eindruck auf, als habe die Perserherrschaft zumindest in Kachetien bei breiteren Bevölkerungsschichten keinen nachhaltigen Eindruck hinterlassen. Bis in post-achaimenidische Zeit ist die private Wohnarchitektur lokalen (wohl bronzezeitlichen) Traditionen verpflichtet,⁴⁹ Daraus darf aber nicht gefolgert werden, diese Region habe eventuell gar nicht zum Reich gehört.⁵⁰ Vielmehr wird wieder einmal deutlich, daß die persische Herrschaft eben auch hier eine möglichst reibungslose Kontrolle des Landes bei weitgehend unveränderten Verhältnissen für die Masse der Untertanen bedeutete. In diesem Zusammenhang

Entwicklung der Monumentalarchitektur Iberiens Kipiani 1998, 31–47. 113; K'ip'iani 2000 a, 5–68; Knauß [in Druckvorbereitung].

⁴⁶ Bochotschadse 1977, 93–95; Bochotschadse *et al.* 1978; Bochotschadse *et al.* 1981; Bochotschadse & Mirianishvili 1982; Lordkipanidse 1991, 150. Die hellenistische Architektur von Nastakisi ist bis heute unpubliziert; vgl. ferner Gagoshidze 1979, 25–30; Mirianishvili 1999, 50 (zur hellenistischen Befestigung im nahen Igoeti).

⁴⁷ Gagoshidze 1979, 56–57 (Sadamlo); Zkitishvili 1977, 88–89 Abb. 1–2 (Zichiagora); Lezhava 1978, 8–9. 17–18 Taf. 34, 1–3; Lordkipanidse 1991, 116 (Vani und Mtisdsiri); zu derartigen Holz-Erde-Mauern in Georgien demnächst Knauß [in Druckvorbereitung].

⁴⁸ Weitere eisenzeitliche Architekturbefunde in mehreren iberischen und ost-kolchischen Siedlungen in Kucheti (Chikoiye *et al.* 1999), in Didi Plevi (Ramishvili 1999, 65) und in Korbouli (Meshveliani *et al.* 1999, 78 Abb. 2–3. 5–7) konnten wegen des Fehlens aussagekräftiger Publikationen an dieser Stelle noch nicht berücksichtigt werden.

⁴⁹ Unglücklicherweise sind wir bislang über die spätbronzezeitliche Wohnarchitektur Ostgeorgiens noch schlechter unterrichtet, da sich die Grabungstätigkeit in der Vergangenheit weitgehend auf Gräberfelder konzentriert hat. In Uzun-Dara läßt sich jetzt möglicherweise der Übergang von der späten Bronzezeit zur frühen Eisenzeit archäologisch fassen; Motzenbäcker 2003, 11–12.

⁵⁰ Es muß betont werden, daß dieses Ergebnis nur die Architektur betrifft. Das Bild ist aber nicht einheitlich. So demonstriert die Untersuchung der eisenzeitlichen Keramik, daß die Achaimenidenherrschaft nicht allein für die führenden Gruppen Kachetiens nennenswerte Veränderungen mit sich brachte; Gagoshidze 1996, 125–129. 135–136; Ludwig 2005.

Zur Diskussion um die Stellung Iberiens und der Kolchis zum bzw. im Achaimenidenreich vgl. zuletzt Knauß 2000, 170 mit Anm. 39; 183 Anm. 114; Jacobs 2001, 93–95. 98–101; Knauß 2001 a, 127–128; dagegen Lordkipanidze 2001, 3–12. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch auf Netzer 2000 verwiesen, der deutlich gezeigt hat, daß die unbestreitbare, über 200-jährige Herrschaft der Perser in Palästina kaum Spuren im architektonischen Befund dieser Zeit hinterlassen hat; vgl. ferner Stern 1982.

möchte ich darauf hinweisen, daß Pierre Briant in seiner »Histoire de l'Empire Perse« gerade das Fehlen einer Reichsideologie als einen wesentlichen Grund für das Zusammenbrechen des Reiches unter dem Ansturm Alexanders ausgemacht hat.⁵¹ Eine »Achaimenidisierung« der lokalen Kultur auf breiter Front, vergleichbar der Hellenisierung, wie wir sie im Gefolge der Alexanderzüge im Vorderen Orient vielfach beobachten können, hat im Perserreich nirgends stattgefunden.⁵²

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⁵¹ Briant 1996, 887–888 und passim.

⁵² Trotzdem gibt es gerade auf dem Gebiet des alten Iberien und der Kolchis im Bereich der Kleinkunst eine überraschend große Zahl von Importen aus dem Achaimenidenreich sowie von lokalen Imitationen und Umformungen solcher Importe; Nadiraje 1990 a, Taf. 4, 3; 5, 3; 38,1; 44–46; Nadiradse 1990 b, 215–216 Abb. 6–7; Gagoshidze 1996, 126–129, 135; Gagoshidze 1997, 134–136; Knauf 1999 a, 218–221 Abb. 81–82 Taf. 20a; Makharadze & Saginashvili 1999, Abb. 1–2; Kipiani 2000 b, 87–90 Abb. 32–57; Gagoshidze 2000; Gagoshidze & Saginashvili 2001.

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Die Kachetische Keramik des I. Jts. v. Chr. — eine Einführung

Nadine LUDWIG

Seminar für Klassische Archäologie
Institut für Klassische Altertumswissenschaften
Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg
Universitätsplatz 12 (Robertinum)
D-06099 Halle/Saale
GERMANY
E-mail: semurg@web.de

Abstract

In Kakheti, the following stages of development concerning ceramic shapes, decoration and techniques of manufacture can be observed. First, from the 10th through 6th centuries BC brownish and greyish wares dominated. Shapes, ornamentation and technique are still redolent of local Bronze Age traditions, and show no external influence. Then, around 500 BC we find a new reddish, hard-fired pottery, which often shows formerly unknown shapes. All these novelties come from Achaemenid Iran. In the following centuries, the new technology and repertoire of shapes displace the former ones. Similar development in Shida or Kvemo Kartli provides ample proof of close contacts between these three regions. Around the turn of the millennium there is a total break in the ceramic assemblage — pottery from the 'Yolojlu-Tapa culture' appears and, together with local wares, are often decorated with parallel white lines around the body. This, however, finds no parallel in the neighbouring parts of Eastern Georgia.

Georgien ist geographisch durch die Lichi-Berge in einen westlichen und einen östlichen Landesteil gegliedert. Diese Teilung spiegelt sich auch in der materiellen Kultur des 1. Jts. v. Chr. wieder. Während Westgeorgien einer eigenen Entwicklung folgt, bilden sich in ostgeorgischen Gebieten, zu denen unter anderem die Provinzen Kachetien, Schida Kartli und Kvemo

Kartli gehören, lokale Kulturen heraus, die materiell betrachtet eng miteinander verwandt sind.

Die Entwicklungen innerhalb der Keramikproduktion des 1. Jts. v. Chr. sind in Zentralgeorgien, speziell in Schida Kartli,¹ relativ gut untersucht: Neben der in der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jts. v. Chr. vorherrschenden Produktion von grau-, braun- und schwarztonigen Waren, die in Formengut und Verzierung Traditionen spätbronzezeitlicher — früheisenzeitlicher Keramiken weiterführen, treten hier ab der Mitte des 1. Jts. v. Chr. plötzlich Neuerungen auf, die nicht als indigene Entwicklung angesehen werden können. Dabei handelt es sich im Wesentlichen um drei Phänomene: Eine neue Brenntechnik zur Herstellung rot gebrannter, härterer Waren;² monochrom rot bzw. rotbraun bemalte, rottonige Keramik, deren früheste Vertreter Kannen mit Dreiecksdekor sind³ und einige völlig neue Gefäßformen, zu denen Kannen mit einem röhrenförmigen Ausguß, ferner spitzbodige Gefäße, Phialen, Schalen mit nach innen gebogenem Rand, phialenartige Schalen mit flachem Boden, Kleeblattkannen und Pithoi mit trichterförmigem Hals-Rand-Bereich gehören.⁴ Diese neuen Formen finden sich zum größten Teil unter den rottonigen Waren, werden aber auch in den traditionellen schwarz- oder grautonigen Waren hergestellt.

Zu den Ursachen dieser Veränderungen gibt es unterschiedliche Meinungen. Die Mehrzahl der Wissenschaftler tendiert jedoch zu der Ansicht, daß sie mit Einflüssen aus dem urartäischen und achaimenidischen Kulturkreis in Verbindung stehen.⁵ Während jedoch direkte urartäische Einflüsse nicht greifbar sind, läßt sich eine Beeinflussung aus dem iranischen bzw. achaimenidischen Raum nicht leugnen. Am deutlichsten wird dies an einigen

¹ Schida Kartli oder das Innere Kartli erstreckt sich auf einer Hochebene, die an ihren Längsseiten im Norden vom Großen, im Süden vom Kleinen Kaukasus umgeben ist, an ihrer südlichen Grenze fließt der Mtkwari (Kura) entlang. Zur Keramikproblematik Zentralgeorgiens vgl. unter anderem Avalishvili 1974; Muskhelishvili 1978a; Davlianidze 1983; Lordkipanidze 1991, pp. 71–73, 150–152; Narimanishvili 1991.

² Der früheste Nachweis rottoniger Keramik in Kartli stammt aus der Schicht IV (9. — 7. Jh. v. Chr.) von Chovle-Gora (Abb. 1: 1). Vgl. dazu Muskhelishvili 1977, p. 214; Pitskhelauri 1977a, p. 221; Muskhelishvili 1978a, p. 101; Davlianidze 1983, p. 180; Lordkipanidze 1991, p. 73; Narimanishvili 1991, pp. 3–4, 68.

³ Einen Höhepunkt erlebt diese Verzierungstechnik in den großen, zum Teil figürlich bemalten Pithoi, Krateren und kesselartigen Gefäßen des 3. Jhs. v. Chr., die wir z.B. aus Samadlo (Abb. 1.2) kennen. Danach läßt sich ein allmählicher Niedergang dieser bemalten Keramik beobachten, der sich in einer zunehmend nachlässigen Bemalung und Motivarmut widerspiegelt. Zur Problematik der bemalten Keramik siehe Gagoshidze 1970; Narimanishvili 1991, pp. 69–79; Narimanishvili 2001; Narimanishvili and Shatberashvili 2005.

⁴ Siehe dazu z.B. Muskhelishvili 1977, p. 215; Pitskhelauri 1977a, p. 222; Davlianidze 1983, pp. 180–181; Lordkipanidze 1991, p. 73.

⁵ Siehe z.B. Gagoshidze 1964, p. 97; Khakhutaishvili 1970, p. 110; Muskhelishvili 1977, pp. 215, 217; Muskhelishvili 1978b, pp. 27, 29; Pitskhelauri 1977a, p. 222; Davlianidze 1983, p. 180; Lordkipanidze 1991, p. 73.

Gefäßformen, wie z.B. den Tonphialen. Diese ahmen metallische Vorbilder nach, deren Provenienz eindeutig auf das achaimenidische Persien verweist.⁶

Die Herstellung solcher Tonphialen in achaimenidisch beeinflussten oder kontrollierten Gebieten ist nichts Ungewöhnliches und läßt sich in anderen Reichsteilen ebenso wiederfinden.⁷ Auch die frühe bemalte Keramik aus Zentralgeorgien weist deutliche Bezüge zum iranischen Raum auf. So läßt sich ihre Ornamentik mit der sog. Triangel-Ware oder Gefäßen des Ardabil-Stils vergleichen.⁸ Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die Produktion rottoniger Keramik ebenso mit einem Einfluß aus dieser Richtung zusammenhängt.

In der darauffolgenden Zeit werden die einstmals neuen, fremden Formen und Techniken fest in den eigenen Keramikbestand integriert und nach eigenen Vorstellungen umgestaltet.⁹

Für Kachetien bietet sich ein weniger klares Bild.

Kachetien ist die östlichste Provinz des heutigen Georgien. Sie wird im Norden begrenzt durch den Tuschetischen Alazani, im Osten und Süden durch die Grenze zu Azerbaidschan. Der geographische Charakter Kachetiens wird geprägt durch die in den Mingetschaur-Stausee mündenden Flüsse Iori und Alazani, die durch die Gombori-Bergkette voneinander getrennt sind.

Im Jahr 1965 wurde die Kachetische Archäologische Expedition (KAE)¹⁰ gegründet. Die KAE stellte sich zur Aufgabe, alle archäologischen Epochen in Ihre Forschungen einzubeziehen.¹¹ Der eigentliche Schwerpunkt lag aber vor allem in der Untersuchung bronzezeitlicher und früheisenzeitlicher Fundplätze.¹²

⁶ Die frühesten Tonphialen aus Kartli datieren in das 5. Jh. v. Chr. Der Ton all dieser Stücke ist, soweit überprüfbar, lokaler Herkunft; Davlianidze 1977, p. 124; Narimanishvili 1991, pp. 47–50; Gagoshidze 1996, pp. 127–128. Zu den achaimenidischen Metallphialen siehe Abka'i-Khavari 1988.

⁷ siehe z.B. Dusinberre 1999.

⁸ Kroll 1975; Kroll 2001; Narimanishvili 2001.

⁹ Ausdruck findet diese Entwicklung z.B. in den bemalten Gefäßen des sog. »Samadlo-Stils« Gagoshidze 1979, pl. I, II, XIV–XVII.

¹⁰ Pitshelauri und Dedabrishvili 1976, p. II.

¹¹ Pitshelauri und Dedabrishvili 1976, p. II (beide gehören zu den Gründern dieser Expedition); Pitshelauri 1982, 54. Die Kachetische Archäologische Expedition wurde deshalb in fünf Abteilungen gegliedert, die jeweils die Erforschung einer zeitlichen Epoche zur Aufgabe hatte: 1. Abteilung — die paläolithische Epoche, Leiter T.B. Bugianishvili; 2. Abteilung — Frühe und Mittlere Bronzezeit, Leiter Sh.Sh. Dedabrishvili; 3. Abteilung — Späte Bronze- und Eisenzeit, Leiter K.N. Pizhelauri; 4. Abteilung — die antike Epoche, Leiter N. Mamaishvili und die 5. Abteilung — die Epoche des Feudalismus, Leiter bis 1970 R. M. Ramishvili, danach Z. N. Zikoidse. Vgl. Pitshelauri und Dedabrishvili 1976, p. 12.

¹² Vgl. unter anderem Pitshelauri und Dedabrishvili 1976, p. 21; Pitshelauri 1977a; Pitshelauri, Dedabrishvili *et al.* 1979; Pitshelauri, Dedabrishvili *et al.* 1980; Pitshelauri 1981; Pitshelauri 1983; Pitshelauri, Mamaishvili *et al.* 1984; Pitshelauri und Mamaishvili

Seit 1994 besteht ein gemeinsames Projekt zwischen der Universität Halle und der Kachetischen Archäologischen Expedition.¹³

Nur von wenigen der untersuchten Denkmäler liegen wissenschaftliche Publikationen vor. Noch seltener wurde dabei das keramische Material hinreichend veröffentlicht. Unter den erforschten Komplexen finden sich vor allem Einzelgräber und Gräberfelder. Siedlungen sind zwar durch zahlreiche Surveys bekannt, aber meist nicht näher untersucht.

Für vier Fundkomplexe liegen C14-Datierungen vor. Dazu gehören einige spätbronzezeitliche Gräber aus Pevrebi (Abb. 1:3)¹⁴ und drei Siedlungen aus der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jts. v. Chr. — Didi-Gora (Abb. 1:4),¹⁵ Noname-Gora (Abb. 1:5)¹⁶ und Ziskaraant-Gora (Abb. 1:6).¹⁷ Der größte Anteil der publizierten Fundplätze gehört der Späten Bronzezeit — Frühen Eisenzeit an, d.h. sie datieren in die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jts. bzw. an den Anfang des 1. Jts. v. Chr. Es ist zur Zeit immer noch schwierig, die Periode der Späten Bronzezeit — Frühen Eisenzeit zu gliedern, da keine Einigkeit unter den Fachwissenschaftlern über die Datierung und Charakterisierung dieser Zeitspanne und ihres Materials herrscht.¹⁸

Für die darauffolgende Zeit, die als »Periode der weiten Verbreitung des Eisens« bezeichnet wird,¹⁹ schrumpft die Anzahl der untersuchten Komplexe beträchtlich zusammen. Zu den bekannten Fundorten gehören unter anderem die durch die Deutsch-Kachetische Expedition untersuchten Siedlungshügel Noname-Gora²⁰ und Ziskaraant-Gora,²¹ ferner die Metallwerkstatt Kvemo Kedi (Abb. 1:7),²² die Töpferei Chirsa (Abb. 1:8),²³ die

et al. 1985; Pitshkelauri, Varazashvili *et al.* 1987; Furtwängler 1996, p. 177 und die Bände zur Arbeit der kachetischen Expedition. Eine vollständige Zusammenfassung der bis 1988 erschienen Veröffentlichungen zur archäologischen Forschung in Kachetien findet sich bei Rusishvili 1988.

¹³ Vgl. Furtwängler 1996; Furtwängler und Knauf 1997; Furtwängler und Knauf 1998; Furtwängler, Knauf und Motzenbäcker 1999a; Furtwängler, Knauf und Motzenbäcker 1999b; Furtwängler und Ludwig 2005.

¹⁴ Abdushelishvili 1980; Kavtaradze 1983, pp. 148–149.

¹⁵ Korfmann, Pitzhelauri und Jablonka 1999.

¹⁶ Furtwängler, Knauf und Motzenbäcker 1999b.

¹⁷ Furtwängler, Knauf und Motzenbäcker 1999a, pp. 352–354.

¹⁸ Vgl. Abramishvili 1957; Abramishvili 1973; Pitshkelauri 1979, pp. 88–139; Abramishvili 1984; Lordkipanidze 1991, p. 71; Abramishvili 1997; Pitshkelauri 1997, pp. 9–11.

¹⁹ Diese Bezeichnung umfaßt ungefähr den Zeitraum vom 8. bis 6. Jh. v. Chr.

²⁰ Furtwängler, Knauf und Motzenbäcker 1999b; <http://robertin.altertum.uni-halle.de/georgien/index.html> (Stand 31.01.05).

²¹ Pitshkelauri 1973, p. 36; Furtwängler und Knauf 1997, pp. 354–387; Furtwängler, Knauf und Motzenbäcker 1998; <http://robertin.altertum.uni-halle.de/georgien/index.html> (Stand 31.01.05).

²² Pitshkelauri 1973, pp. 86–93, 200; Pitshkelauri 1977a, pp. 223–224; Pitshkelauri 1979, pp. 32–35, 133; Pitshkelauri und Mamaishvili 2005.

²³ Pitshkelauri 1965, pp. 54–58; Pitshkelauri 1973, pp. 97–98; Pitshkelauri 1979, pp. 37–38; Pitshkelauri, Varazashvili *et al.* 1987, p. 38.

Heiligtümer Berg Gochebi (Abb. 1:9),²⁴ Melaani (Abb. 1:10)²⁵ und Meligele II (Abb. 1:11),²⁶ einige Gräber aus Sagaredscho (Abb. 1)²⁷ sowie die Siedlung Motschrili-Gora (Abb. 1:13).²⁸ Die Keramik dieser Fundkomplexe zeichnet sich vor allem durch braun- und grautonige Waren aus. Sie schließt sich bruchlos und ohne erkennbare externe Einflüsse an die lokale spätbronzezeitliche Keramik an. Es lassen sich keine neuen Formen beobachten, sondern ältere Typen werden lediglich modifiziert und weiterentwickelt (Abb. 2). Vor allem bei der Gebrauchskeramik sind Formtraditionen sehr stark, so daß sich einige Gefäßtypen über einen langen Zeitraum hin nachweisen lassen.

Ähnlich verhält es sich mit dem Repertoire an Verzierungsmotiven. Die bekannten Muster werden tradiert, lediglich die Ausmaße der verzierten Fläche und Verzierungstechniken variieren, z.B. werden Ritzverzierungen durch Politurmuster ersetzt.

Die ab der Mitte des 1. Jts. v. Chr. in Zentralgeorgien einsetzenden Neuerungen, lassen sich zum Teil auch in Kachetien beobachten. In Kvemo Kedi gibt es neben der typischen lokalen grau- und brauntonigen Keramik (Abb. 5:1,2) nun auch rottonige²⁹ und einige neue Formen, die vergleichbar mit Stücken aus Zentralgeorgien dieser Zeit sind (Abb. 5:3–5). Der wichtigste Fund ist jedoch eine tönernerne Phiale (Abb. 6). Dieses Stück läßt sich an Hand von Vergleichen mit Metallphialen in das späte 6. Jh. v. Chr. datieren.³⁰ Und wäre somit das älteste Beispiel einer Tonphiale aus Ostgeorgien.

Das 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. ist lediglich durch einen Fundplatz vertreten — Gumbati (Abb. 1:14).³¹ Auch hier kamen Tonphialen zu Tage, deren Formen eine Zuordnung in das 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. erlauben (Abb. 7). Das restliche Material wird dominiert von rottonigen Waren, deren Formen

²⁴ Pitshkelaury, Dedabrishvili *et al.* 1979, pp. 40–42; Pitshkelaury 1977b; Pitshkelaury 1979, p. 58; Pitshkelaury 1984, pp. 89–91; Pitshkelaury 1997, p. 21.

²⁵ Pitshkelaury 1965, pp. 82–110; Pitshkelaury 1973, pp. 117–122; Pitshkelaury 1979, pp. 54–57; Pitshkelaury 1984, pp. 66–88.

²⁶ Pitshkelaury 1968; Pitshkelaury 1973, pp. 116–117; Pitshkelaury 1979, pp. 53–54; Pitshkelaury 1984, p. 22, 38–41.

²⁷ Pitshkelaury 1982, p. 61; Mamaishvili 1988; Pitshkelaury 1997, Taf. 113.B; Shabashvili 2000.

²⁸ Pitshkelaury 1973, pp. 31–33; Pitshkelaury 1979, pp. 14–16, 21.

²⁹ Pitshkelaury weist daraufhin, daß schon im 8. Jh. v. Chr. aus dem Umfeld der Stadt Sagaredscho Gräber bekannt sind, die eine neuartige, gelbtonige (beige) Keramik und nicht bekannte Gefäßformen enthielten. In einem der Gräber fand sich ein urartäisches Schwert, Pitshkelaury 1997, 11. Vgl. dazu auch Mamaishvili 1988; Tshabashvili 2000. Bei näherer Betrachtung stellt sich aber heraus, daß der Großteil der Formen lokalen Ursprungs ist.

³⁰ Pitshkelaury 1973, p. 200, Taf. XX; Pitshkelaury 1977a, p. 224.

³¹ Pitshkelaury und Dedabrishvili 1976, p. 21; Furtwängler 1996; Furtwängler und Knauf 1997; Furtwängler und Knauf 1998, pp. 353–354.

zum Teil eindeutige Vergleiche im Formenbestand Zentralgeorgiens dieser Zeit finden (Abb. 8:4–7). Daneben existieren aber Fragmente lokaler «kachetischer» Prägung aus grauem Ton (Abb. 8:1–3). Man kann davon ausgehen, daß die hier gefundenen Phialen aus einer lokalen Produktion stammen. Einen Hinweis dafür bietet nicht nur die Ware, sondern auch die Verbindung von neuer Form und traditioneller Verzierung: So wurde eine der Phialen aus Gumbati mit einem Politurmuster versehen (Abb. 7:2). Bislang sind in Kachetien kaum Fundplätze bekannt, die Aufschlüsse über die Entwicklung zwischen dem Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. und dem Beginn des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. lieferten. Allein die Schicht B von Ziskaraant-Gora kann ungefähr in das 4. / 3. Jh. v. Chr. gesetzt werden. Die spärliche, zugehörige Keramik scheint keine wesentlichen Neuerungen aufzuweisen. Für die folgenden zwei Jahrhunderte fehlt in Kachetien jeglicher archäologischer Beleg.

Einen Nachweis für rot oder rotbraun bemalte Keramik gibt es für Kachetien bis jetzt nicht.

Ende des 1. Jts. v. Chr. finden sich dann Gräber der sogenannten Yolojlu-Tapa-Kultur,³² die einen vollständigen Bruch mit den älteren Kulturstufen bedeuten. Diese Gräber konzentrieren sich in den Tälern des Alazani und Iori. Die Kultur ist nach dem gleichnamigen Fundort in Azerbaidshan benannt und wird hauptsächlich charakterisiert durch eigenwillige Keramikformen wie Dreifüße, Schnabelkannen und Pokale, die sowohl grau als auch rottonig auftreten (Abb. 3).³³ Die Datierung der Yolojlu-Tapa-Kultur in das letzte Jahrhundert v. Chr. und an die Anfänge des neuen Jahrtausends gründet sich auf Funde römischer und arsakidischer Münzen.³⁴ Es handelt sich dabei um keine speziell ostgeorgische Entwicklung. Die Vertreter dieser Kultur wanderten wohl aus Azerbaidshan durch das Alazanital nach Kachetien ein.

Parallel dazu findet sich eine Keramik, die wahrscheinlich kachetischen Ursprungs ist.³⁵ Sie stammt fast ausschließlich aus Grabkomplexen. Es handelt sich dabei vor allem um größere Gefäße wie Kannen, zweihenklige Töpfe und Amphoren. Der Ton ist von rötlichem, gelblichem oder grünlichem Brand. Die Besonderheit dieser Keramik liegt in der weißen Bemalung. Ihre Ornamentik besteht allein aus horizontal umlaufenden, parallelen Linien, die meist den gesamten Gefäßkörper überziehen (Abb. 4). Während

³² Nioradze 1940; Pitshkelaury 1977a, pp. 224–225.

³³ Nioradze 1940; Ismizade 1956.

³⁴ Nioradze 1940, p. 115; Ismizade 1956, pp. 61–62.

³⁵ Pitshkelaury 1973, pp. 202–207, Abb. 1, 2; Pitshkelaury 1977a, pp. 225–228.

Formen und Ware neu sind, erinnert die Verzierung an die vor allem in der Späten Bronzezeit — Frühen Eisenzeit verbreitete Tradition, Gefäße mit horizontal umlaufenden, parallelen Rillen zu verzieren. Vertreter dieser Gattung finden sich auch in Schida Kartli, unter anderem im Zusammenhang mit rottonig bemalter Keramik, z.B. in Samadlo (Abb. 1.2).³⁶ Möglicherweise lassen sich die Anfänge dieser weiß bemalten Keramik aus Kachetien schon in das 3. Jh. v. Chr. setzen.³⁷

Für das Ende des 1. Jts. v. Chr. läßt sich nur schlecht bestimmen, in welcher Verbindung Kachetien mit Zentralgeorgien stand. Neben den Einflüssen aus dem heutigen Azerbaidschan scheint es aber auch weiterhin eine lokale Produktion gegeben zu haben. Einen Hinweis dafür bietet die weiß-bemalte Keramik, die in wenigen Exemplaren auch in einigen der urbanen Zentren Schida Kartlis entdeckt wurde.³⁸

Die oben geschilderten Erkenntnisse lassen darauf schließen, daß Kachetien, mit dem restlichen Ostgeorgien vor allem um die Mitte des 1. Jts. v. Chr. in enger Verbindung stand. Am Ende des 1. Jts. v. Chr. gehörte das südöstliche Kachetien kulturell und vielleicht auch politisch zum sogenannten Kaukasischen Albanischen Reich.³⁹ Die nachlassende Funddichte in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jts. v. Chr. ist wahrscheinlich nicht nur auf eine mangelnde archäologische Erforschung zurückzuführen. Wie eine palynologische Untersuchung gezeigt hat, fand seit dem zweiten Viertel des 1. Jts. v. Chr. ein Klimawechsel statt, der eine einschneidende Veränderung der Vegetation und somit einen Wechsel der Lebensbedingungen zur Folge hatte.⁴⁰

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³⁶ Pitskhelauri 1977a, p. 227; Gagoshidze 1981, pp. 78, 79–80; Gagoshidze 1981, Taf. V.20; VIII.79; XXIII.295, 296; XXIV.300, 302, 301; XXXV.500; XXXVI.532; XXXVII.542; XLVII.696, 698; LIII.773.

³⁷ Pitskhelauri 1977a, pp. 227–228; Gagoshidze 1981, p. 80.

³⁸ S.o.

³⁹ Zum Kaukasischen Albanien siehe unter anderem Andreas 1893; Tomaschek 1893; Trever 1959.

⁴⁰ Furtwängler, Knauß und Motzenbäcker 1998, pp. 354–359.

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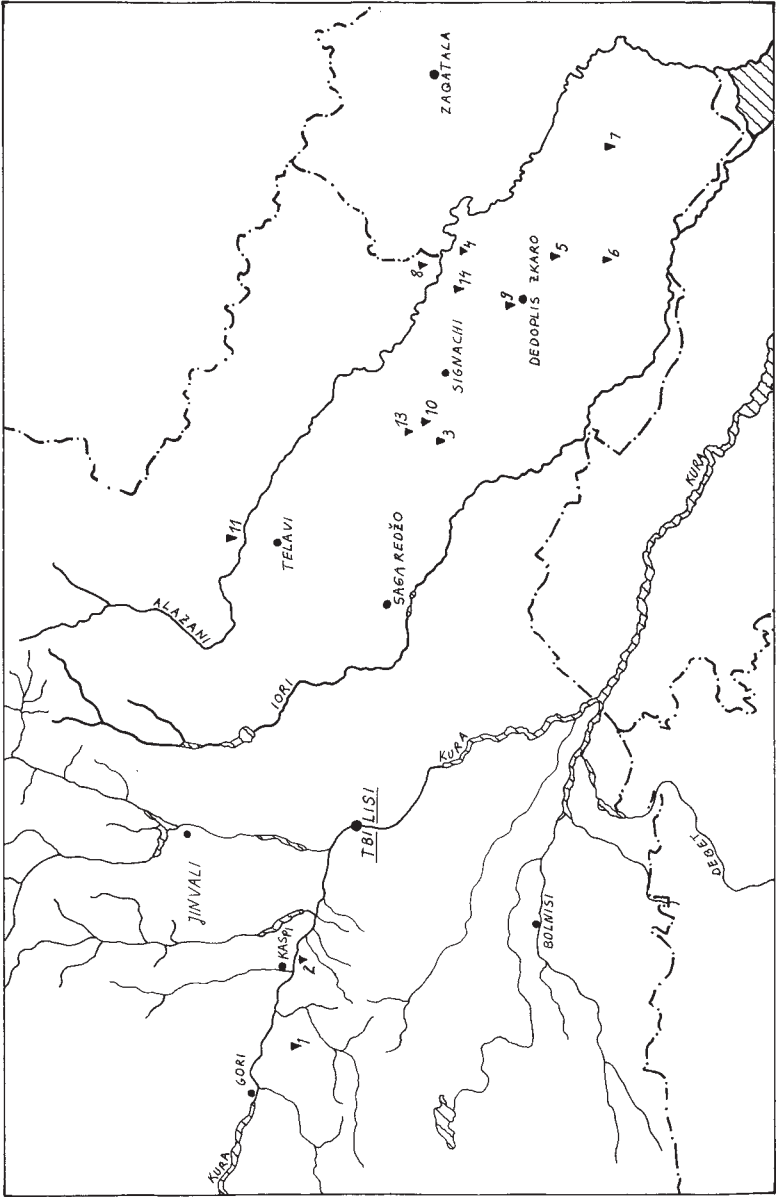


Abb. 1 Karte der im Text erwähnten Fundorte

M 1 : 4

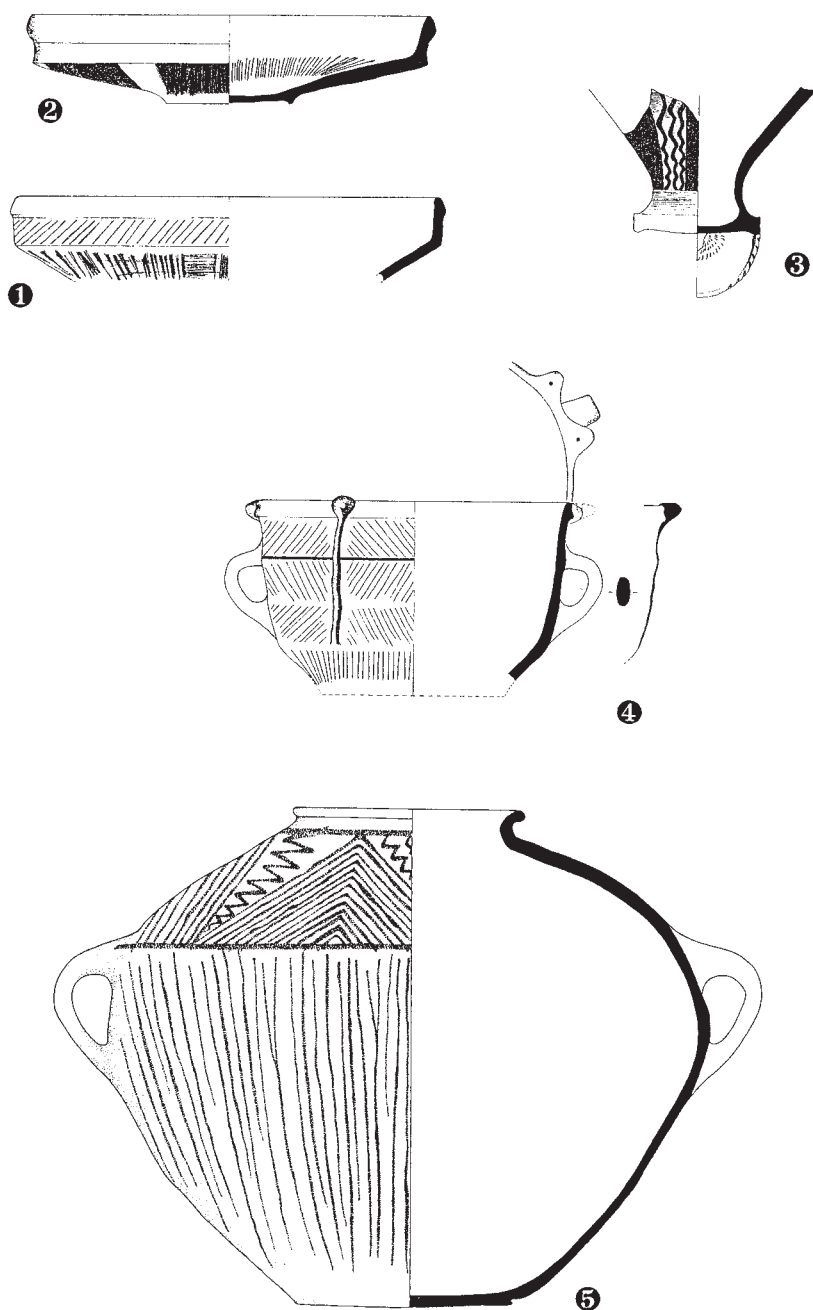


Abb. 2 Beispiele für kachetische Keramik der 1. Hälfte des 1. v. Chr.

M 1 : 2

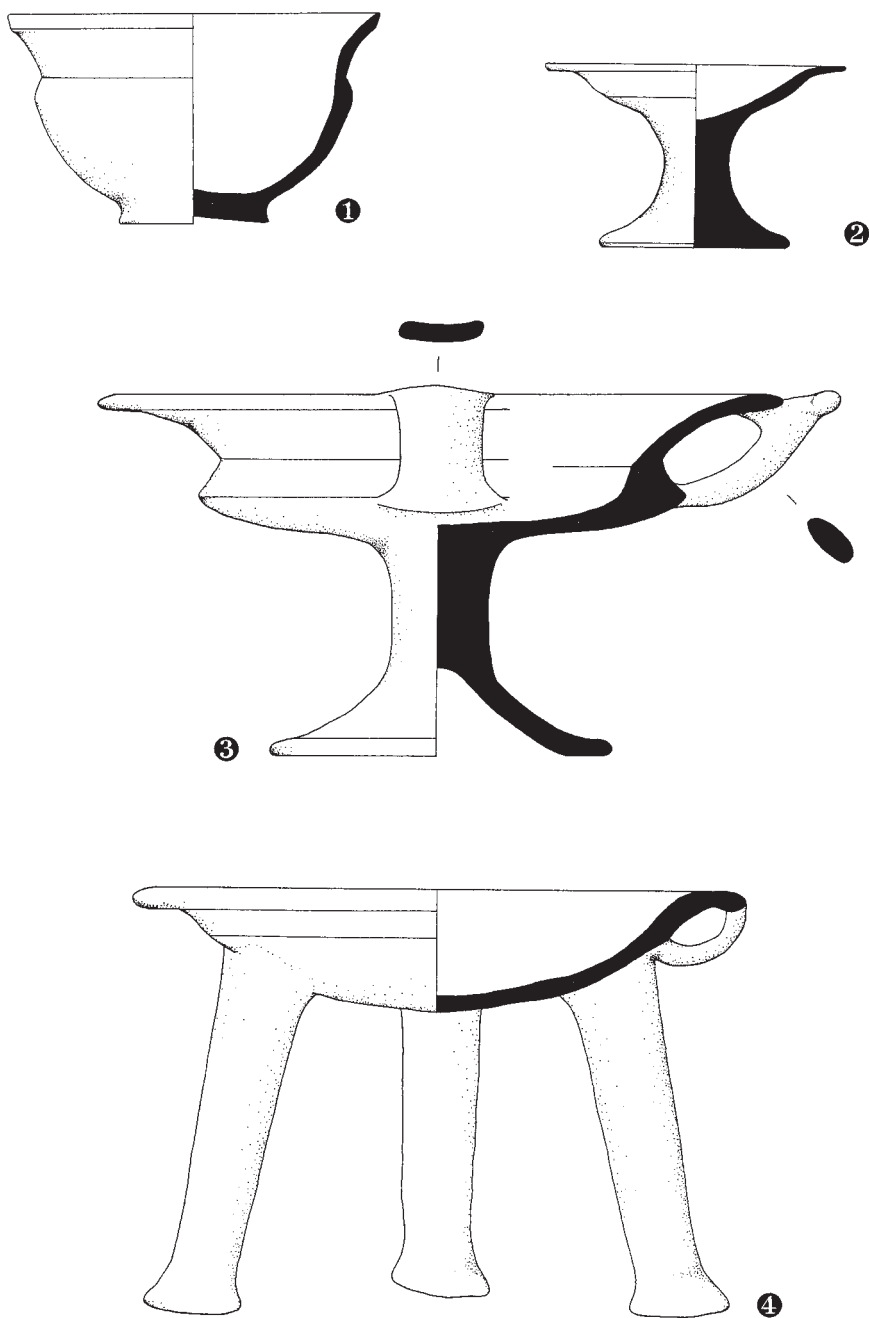


Abb. 3 Kachetien. Yolojlu-Tapa-Keramik

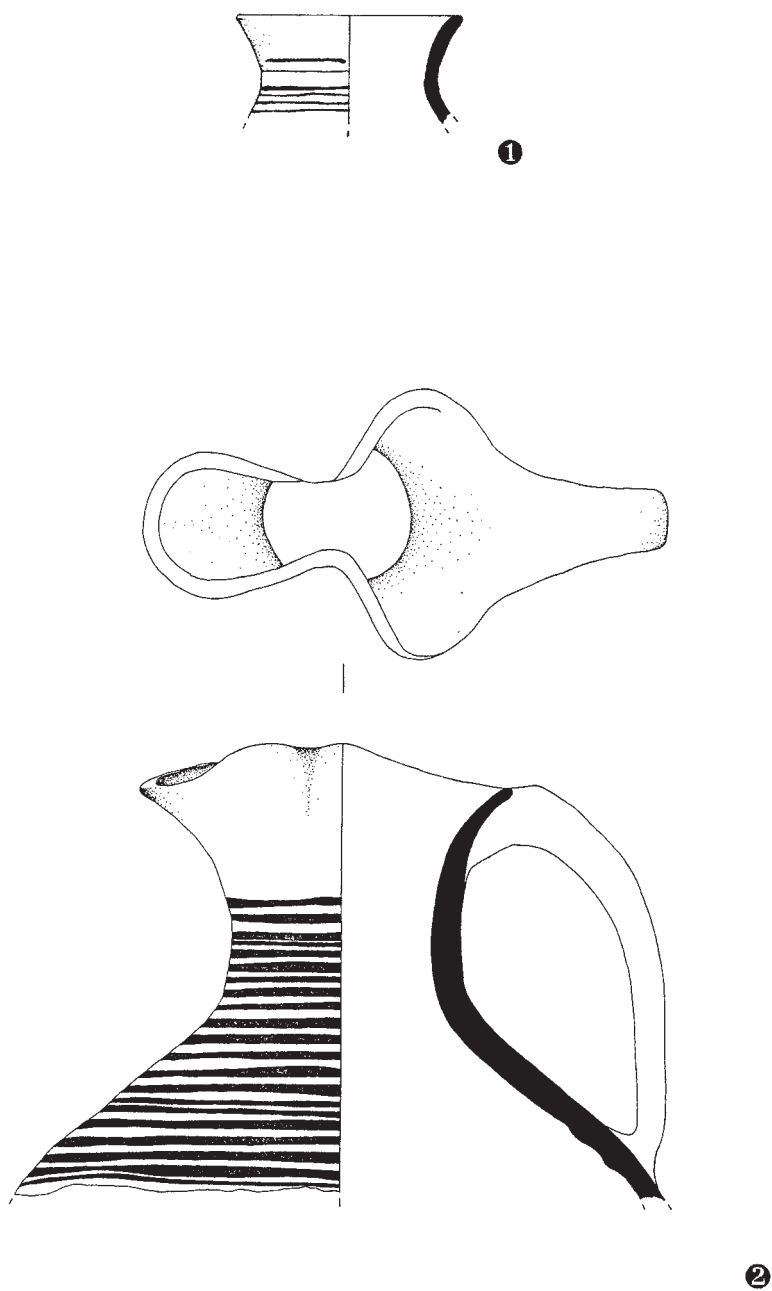
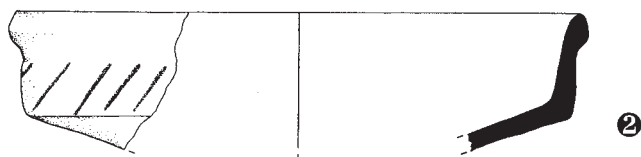
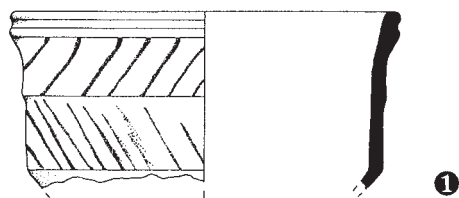


Abb. 4 Keramik mit weißer Bemalung in Form von horizontal umlaufenden Streifen.

M 1 : 2



M 1 : 4

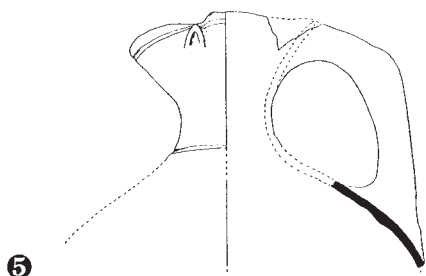
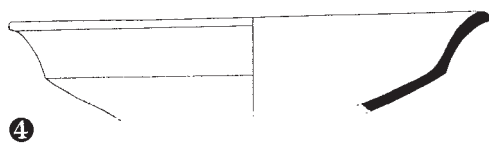
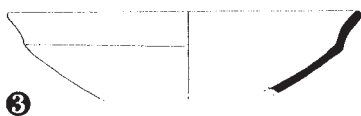


Abb. 5 Kvemo Kedi. Keramikauswahl

M 1 : 1

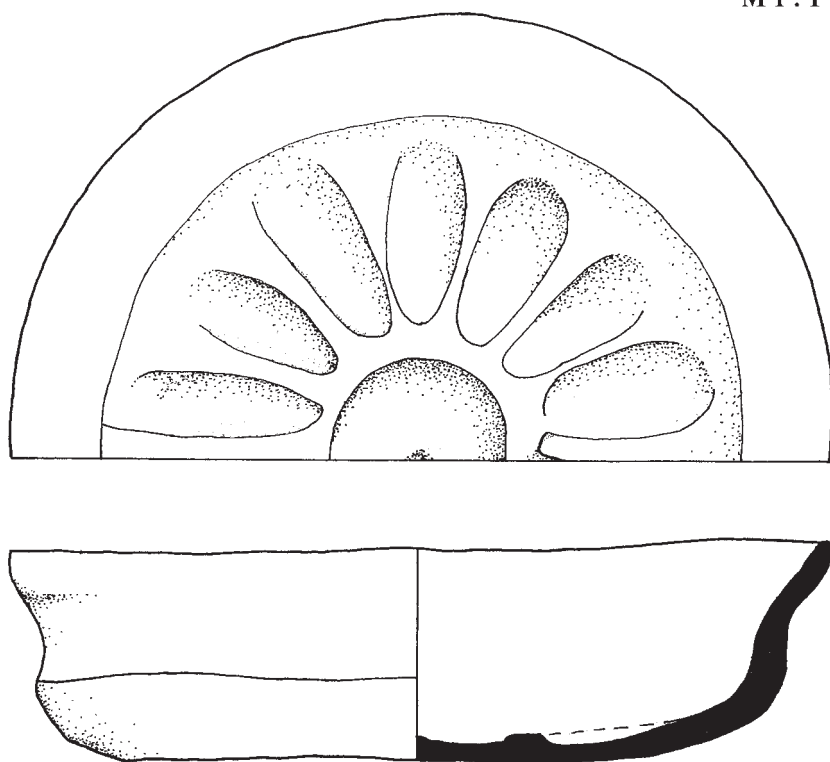


Abb. 6 Kvemo Kedi. Phiale

M 1 : 2

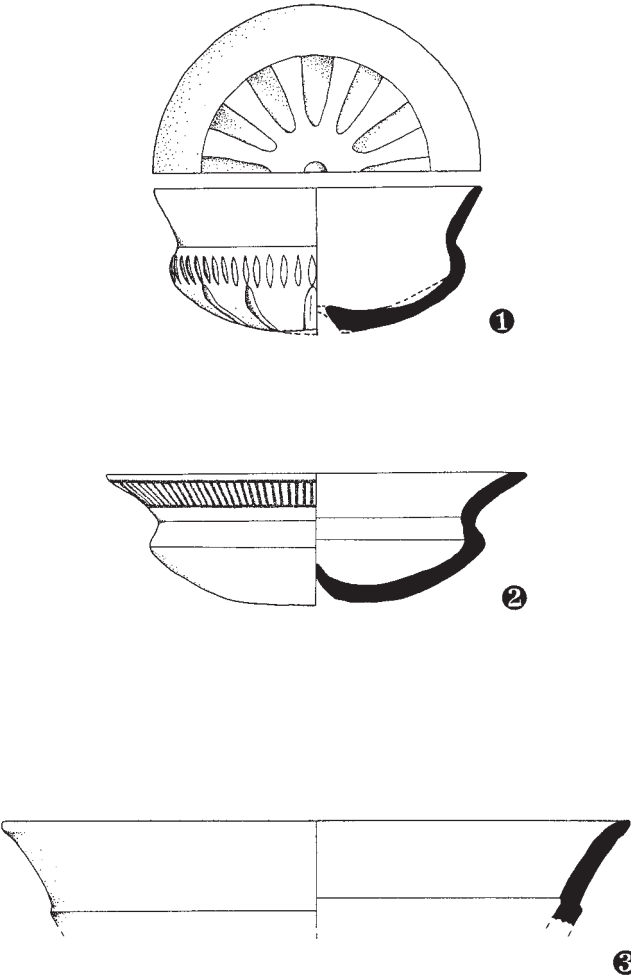


Abb. 7 Gumbati. Phialen

M 1 : 2

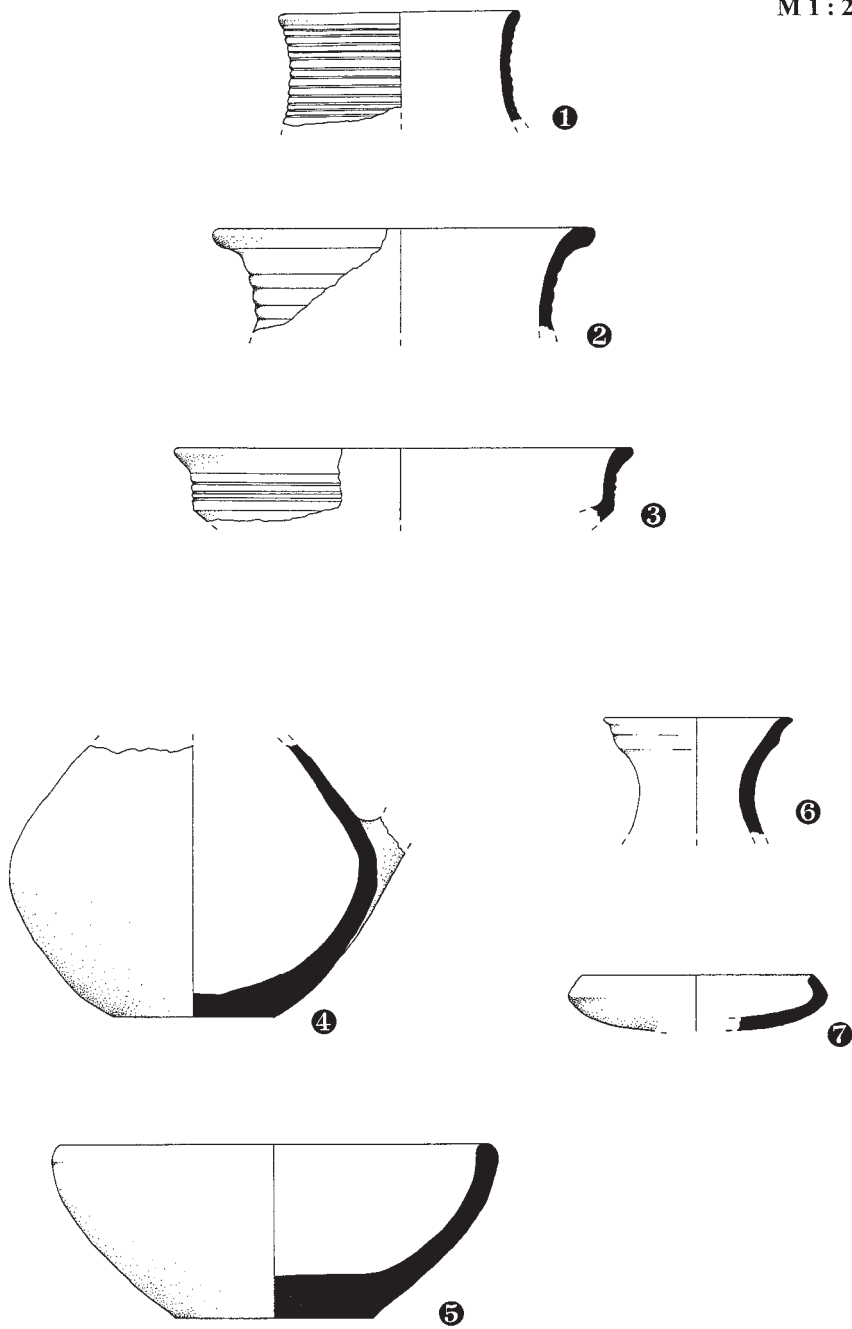


Abb. 8 Gumbati. Keramikauswahl

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Abb. 2. 3. Furtwängler, A. and Knauf, F. and Motzenbäcker, I. 1998 Abb. 10.1

Abb. 2. 4. Furtwängler, A. and Knauf, F. and Motzenbäcker, I. 1998 Abb. 11.1

Abb. 2. 5. Unpubliziert.

Abb. 3. 1. Furtwängler, A. E. and Ludwig, N. 2005 Abb. 11.3

Abb. 3. 2. Furtwängler, A. E. and Ludwig, N. 2005 Abb. 11.4

Abb. 3. 3. Furtwängler, A. E. and Ludwig, N. 2005 Abb. 10.5

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Abb. 5. 2. Unpubliziert.

Abb. 5. 3. Pitskhelauri, K. N. and Mamaishvili, N. 2005 Abb. 17.7

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Abb. 5. 5. Nach Pitskhelauri 1973, Taf. XX.1.

Abb. 6. Nach Pitskhelauri 1973, Taf. XX.2.

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Abb. 7. 2. Furtwängler, A. 1996 Abb. 13.3.

Abb. 7. 3. Unpubliziert.

Abb. 8. 1–5. Unpubliziert.

Achämeniden am Schwarzen Meer: Bemerkungen zum spätarchaischen Marmorkopf aus Herakleia Pontike

Lâtife SUMMERER

Institut für Klassische Archäologie
Meiserstr. 10
80333 München
GERMANY

E-mail: l.summerer@ka.fak12.uni-muenchen.de

Fax: +49 89 28927680

Abstract

This article deals with a marble head wearing a Persian tiara in the Museum for Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara, which was found in Heraclea Pontica. Although it was published twice in the mid-eighties of the last century by Akurgal the scholars took hardly notice of it. The author of the present article argues that the heraclian head represents a man of Persian origin rather than an 'Anatolian Greek', as was proposed by Akurgal.

As Thomas Schäfer pointed out some years ago the rich traces of the oxidation on the beard show clearly that the short cut beard was indeed covered by a wig of bronze. In addition to this, there are also traces of rust surrounding the upper part of the tiara like a tie, which indicates on the existence of a diadem.

Such a combination of headgear could be worn obviously by Persian nobles, kings, and satraps, but also by local dynasts. At the time when the sculpture was created at the end of the 6th century BC, there was no tyrant or dynast ruling in heracleia. The political system was democracy when the city was founded about 560 BC, then, it turned to oligarchy. From the middle of the sixth century the city came under the control of the Great King, but thanks to loyalty of the oligarchs it kept its independency. In this historical context, it seems plausible that this

headless statue was set up for a Persian ruler, possibly for the Cappadocian satrap Ariaramnes or the great King Darius I during his Black Sea campaign against the Scythians in 513/512 BC.

Im Mittelpunkt der im folgenden auszuführenden Überlegungen steht ein spätarchaischer Marmorkopf, der in Herakleia Pontike (das moderne Ereğli am Schwarzen Meer) gefunden wurde und sich heute in Ankara im Museum für Anatolische Zivilisationen befindet (Abb. 1-2).¹ Obgleich dieser Kopf von Ekrem Akurgal bereits Mitte der 80er Jahre des letzten Jahrhunderts zweimal mit exzellenten Fotos publiziert wurde, ist er in der Forschung immer noch weitgehend unbekannt.² Er wird zwar in einigen Arbeiten zur archaischen Plastik beiläufig erwähnt,³ fehlt aber in den speziell der Geschichte und Archäologie Herakleias gewidmeten Werken,⁴ obgleich diese Marmorskulptur das einzige Zeugnis aus der Frühgeschichte der Stadt darstellt. Vergeblich sucht man ihn auch in der archäologischen Diskussion der perserzeitlichen Kunst und Kultur in Kleinasien.⁵

Damit dieser interessante Marmorkopf der Forschung nicht entgeht, soll er an dieser Stelle noch einmal vorgestellt und eingehend besprochen werden. Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist, ausgehend von diesem Einzelstück konkrete Details des achämenidischen Einflusses in der Schwarzmeerregion fassbar zu machen.

Der aus einem feinkörnigen weißen Marmor gearbeitete Kopf ist 27 cm hoch. Er stammt sicher von einer lebensgroßen Statue. Dargestellt ist ein Mann, der eine Mütze und scheinbar einen kurzen Stoppelbart trägt. Die Gesichtszüge des Mannes mit leicht schräg gestellten, mandelförmigen Augen, deutlich hervortretenden Wangenknochen und leicht hochgezogenen Mundwinkeln entsprechen weitgehend den Köpfen der spätarchaischen Plastik. Die Nase ist zerstört; der noch intakte Nasenansatz zeigt jedoch einen glatten Übergang zwischen Stirn Nasenbein.

¹ Inv. Nr. 19367. Nähere Fundumstände scheinen nicht bekannt zu sein.

² Akurgal 1986, 9–13, Taf. 4–5; Akurgal 1987, Taf. 22.23.81.

³ Beiläufige Erwähnungen fand der Marmorkopf bei Floren 1987, 408; Boardman 1993, 40 Abb. 2.30; Schäfer 1996, 208 Abb.16; Angiolillo 1997, 168; Saprykin 1997, 540.

⁴ Akkaya 1994; Erçiyas 2003. Eine Erwähnung findet der Marmorkopf im Zusammenhang mit Herakleia nur bei Saprykin 1997, 49–50. Boardman 1993, 40 Abb. 2.30 bildet diesen Kopf in seinem Buch "The Diffusion of the Classical Art" ab und kommentiert ihn kurz. Umso verwunderlicher ist es, dass Boardman 1999, 254 in der vierten überarbeiteten Auflage seines Buchs "The Greek Overseas" bei der Besprechung von Herakleia Pontike nicht erwähnt.

⁵ Z. B. Boardman 2003; Dusinberre 2003. In Zusammenhang mit der persischen Präsenz in Anatolien wird der herakleotische Kopf von Miller 1997, 93 nur beiläufig erwähnt.

Der Mann trägt einen kurzen Backenbart und einen streng umrissenen Schnurrbart, dessen Enden spitz nach unten laufen. Trotz Bestoßungen am Kinn, sieht man deutlich, dass dort ein für die spätarchaischen Köpfe üblicher Spitzbart fehlte. Ein merkwürdiger Befund, der auch von Akurgal hervorgehoben wurde, ist die äußerst flüchtige Arbeitsweise des Bartes, der bei einer sonst qualitätvollen Skulptur verwundert. Die Barthaare sind kaum plastisch abgesetzt, nur unregelmäßig geritzt und grob gepickt. Einige Stellen blieben sogar gänzlich unbearbeitet.⁶

Das wichtigste Merkmal des Kopfes ist die auffällige Kopfbedeckung, die nach oben hin konisch abschließt. Sie bedeckt nicht nur die Haare, sondern auch die Ohren, Nacken und sogar Teile der Wangen und Stirn und umrahmt das Gesicht wie ein Helm U-förmig. Die Mütze liegt auf dem Kopf eng an, erhöht sich aber über dem Scheitel, wobei hier ein scharfer Längsgrat gebildet wird. Da an der unteren Bruchkante des Kopfes kein Abschlussrand erhalten ist, wissen wir nicht, wie die Mütze unten abschloss. Möglicherweise reichte sie bis zu den Schultern. An der Bruchkante sind keine Spuren von seitlichen Laschen zu erkennen. Demnach müssen diese noch tiefer gesessen haben.

Es ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden, aus welchem Material diese Kopfbedeckung bestand. Einerseits lässt die rundherum glatt gestaltete Oberfläche, bei der sich an keiner Stelle die Struktur des darunter gelegenen Haars oder der Ohren abzeichnet, an ein relativ dickes Material denken. Andererseits gibt die Mütze der Rundung des Schädels nach. Außerdem bildet der das Gesicht umrahmende Rand eine sehr feine Kante. Diese Merkmale sprechen zusammen mit dem scharfen Scheitelkamm für eine Kopfbedeckung aus feinem Leder.⁷

Auf dem Kopf wurden an keiner Stelle Farbspuren festgestellt. Dagegen weist die weiße Marmoroberfläche überall braune Verfärbungen und Rostflecken auf, die von Oxydation herrühren. Akurgal erklärt diesen Befund dadurch, dass der Marmorkopf unter der Erde mit Eisen in Berührung gekommen sein muss.⁸

Bei der Interpretation des Kopfes benennt Akurgal diese Kopfbedeckung als *tiara orthé* und deutet den Dargestellten als einen Satrapen oder einen

⁶ Die uneinheitliche Arbeitsweise ist zwar auf den Fotos nicht gut zu erkennen, doch bemerkt Akurgal 1986, 9–10, dass der Backenbart mit 1–2 cm langen Ritzungen, im rechten Kinnbereich aber nur mit Aufpickungen bearbeitet wurde, während einige Stellen am Bartansatz und Schnurrbart unbearbeitet blieben.

⁷ Auch Boardman 1993, 40 vermutet hier eine "skin cap".

⁸ Akurgal 1986, 9.

Tyrannen.⁹ Es soll sich hier aber nicht um einen Perser, sondern um einen »anatolischen Griechen« handeln, der im Dienste der Perser in Herakleia als »Satrap oder Tyrann« gedient habe. Akurgal datiert den Kopf zwischen 540 und 530 v. Chr. und weist ihn einer milesischen Werkstatt zu.¹⁰ In seinem ein Jahr später erschienenen Bildband zur griechischen und römischen Kunst in der Türkei betitelt Akurgal die herakleotische Marmorskulptur nur noch als »Tyrannenkopf«, »der im Auftrag des persischen Großkönigs das Gebiet von Herakleia in einer gewissen Unabhängigkeit verwaltete«.¹¹

Obleich Akurgal diese Schlussfolgerungen in seinen äußerst knappen Besprechungen kaum ausreichend begründen konnte, wurden sie in der Forschung nie wieder diskutiert. In den beiläufigen Bemerkungen übernimmt man meist die vorgeschlagene Deutung und Datierung kommentarlos.¹² An dieser Stelle soll nun kritisch überprüft werden, inwiefern Akurgals Interpretation sich begründen lässt.

Die Untersuchung soll mit der Mütze beginnen, da diese für die Deutung des Kopfes entscheidend ist. Akurgal nennt sie *tiara orthé*,¹³ doch scheint er sich nicht bewusst zu sein, welche weitreichende Folgerung diese Benennung mit sich bringt. Denn die Schriftquellen beschreiben die *tiara orthé* als eine besondere Art von Kopfbedeckung, die allein vom Großkönig getragen werden durfte, den Untergebenen aber untersagt war.¹⁴ Genaue Vorstellungen, wie diese aufgerichtete Tiara aber in Wirklichkeit ausgesehen hat, sind aus den dürftigen Angaben der antiken Autoren nicht zu gewinnen.¹⁵ Sie soll, im Gegensatz zu der von Personen

⁹ Akurgal 1986, 10.

¹⁰ Akurgal 1986, 13.

¹¹ Akurgal 1987, 60.

¹² Floren 1987, 408: "...die lebensgroße Marmorstatue eines persischen Statthalters". Boardman 1993, 40: "a portrait-like head of the later sixth century (a Greek colony on the Black Sea north of Gordion)... It is probably of a local governor". Angiolillo 1997, 168: "...i capelli sono interamente coperti da una tiara la cui presenza fa supporre a E. Akurgal che si sia voluto raffigurare un satrapo...". Nur in seinem Buch zur Geschichte von Herakleia Pontike lehnt Saprykin 1997, 49 die Deutung als "anatolischer Grieche" ab. Der Autor erkennt hier vielmehr einen Perser, wobei er kein stützendes Argument dafür anführt. Ebenso Miller 1997, 93 spricht von einem "Portrait of a Persian" ohne dies zu begründen.

¹³ Akurgal 1986, 10.

¹⁴ Schriftquellen zur *tiara orthé* als Königsinsignie: Ritter 1965, 6–8 mit Anm. 1; Bittner 1985, 197; Goldmann 1993, 51–69.

¹⁵ Xenophon, *Anabasis* I, 5, 23: "die Tiara auf dem Haupte darf nur der Großkönig mit aufrechter Spitze tragen, die Tiara im Herzen könnte mit eurem Beistande leicht auch ein anderer tragen.". Xenophon, *Kyropädie* 8, 3, 13; Er (Kyros) hatte eine aufrecht stehende Tiara auf dem Kopf und trug ein purpurfarbenes Gewand mit weißen Streifen — einem anderen ist nicht erlaubt weiße Streifen zu tragen —, scharlachrote Hosen an seinen Beinen und ein Obergewand ganz aus Purpur. Er hatte außerdem noch ein Diadem an seiner Tiara: seine Verwandten hatten dasselbe Zeichen, auch heute noch tragen sie es."

niedrigen Ranges getragenen »weichen Tiara«, steif bzw. aufgerichtet gewesen sein. Daneben finden sich in der antiken Literatur vereinzelte Erwähnungen, die die *tiara orthé* mit den *kyrbasia* oder *kidaris* genannten Kopfbedeckungen gleichsetzten, was zusätzlich für Verwirrung sorgt.¹⁶

In der Forschung gab es verschiedene Bemühungen, die *tiara orthé* in den bildlichen Darstellungen der persischen Kopfbedeckungen zu ermitteln.¹⁷ Der Versuch, sie über sichere Darstellungen der Großkönige zu verifizieren, war jedoch wenig ergiebig. Dareios III. auf dem Alexandermosaik trägt zwar eine hochgewölbte Tiara, der faltige Kamm und fehlender Scheitelgrat zeigen jedoch, dass diese eher aus weichem Material hergestellt worden sein muss und kaum als eine steife Tiara bezeichnet werden kann.¹⁸

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Alexandermosaik stellte Bernard Goldman die historische Richtigkeit der großköniglichen Tracht in der griechischen Kunst grundsätzlich infrage. Nach seiner Meinung verwendeten die griechischen Künstler die übliche Barbarentracht auch für die Darstellung der achämenidischen Großkönige ohne sich an die persischen Realien zu halten.¹⁹

¹⁶ Die Gleichsetzung der *tiara orthé* mit *kidaris* ist nur bei Plutarch (Artaxerxes 26, 2 u. 28, 1) bezeugt. Einige Autoren identifizieren die *kidaris* mit einer Zinnenkrone (von Gall 1974, 147–161; Calmeyer 1988, 38). In der Komödie „Vögel“ des Aristophanes (486–487) wird der Großkönig mit dem Hahn verglichen, der als einziger Vogel seine *kyrbasia* aufrecht trägt. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass mit *kyrbasia* eine *tiara* gemeint sein dürfte: Koch 1992, 219 Anm. 139. Zur zusätzlichen Verwirrung trägt bei, dass man in der modernen Literatur für die Kopfbedeckungen der Perser auch die Bezeichnung *baschlik* verwendet (z. B. Hölscher 1973, 41; Koch 1992, 216). Dieses aus dem türkischen stammende Wort ist unantiek, weshalb seine Verwendung als Synonym für Tiara oder Kyrbasia in die Irre führt.

¹⁷ Borchhardt 1983, 214 mit Anm. 63; Bittner 1985, 197; Pfrommer 1998, 56–59. Koch 1992, 219 bemerkt mit Hinweis auf den Aufsatz von Seiterle 1985, 3–13, dass die großkönigliche Tiara aus Stierhaut gewesen sei. Doch handelt es sich bei dem erwähnten Aufsatz nicht um die Kopfbedeckungen achämenidischen Könige, sondern um phrygische Mützen. Borchhardt 1983, 214–215 Anm. 63 folgert aus der Erwähnung bei Xenophon (Kyropaedia 8, 3, 13), dass diese Tiara sowohl mit gesenktem als auch mit aufrechtem Kamm getragen werden konnte. Nach Bittner 1985, 195 muss die Versteifung des Kamms mit einer herausnehmbaren Holz- oder Metallscheibe erzeugt worden sein.

¹⁸ Goldman 1993, 53 bezeichnet sie als eine „soft sort of bashlyk“. Dagegen bemerkt von Gall 1990, 322: „Es muss sich hierbei um die aus der Literatur bekannte und zum medischen Ornat gehörende *Tiara orthé* handeln“, da auf dem Mosaik unzweifelhaft der Großkönig dargestellt ist. Zur Problematik der Tiara des Dareios III. auf dem Alexandermosaik: Pfrommer 1998, 57.

¹⁹ Der Autor erklärt die Diskrepanz in der Darstellung der großköniglichen Kopfbedeckung in achämenidischer und griechischer Kunst folgenderweise: Goldman 1993, 56: „The ancient commentators affirmed for the artist that the royal *tiara/kyrbasia* differed from that of the lesser nobility in being upright; the artist, to picture the royal *tiara*, needed only to copy the bashlyk of the king's minions — that of his satraps or other lords who conveniently inscribed *basileios* on their coins — with the addition of stuffing in the crown in order to have the soft headgear incongruously stand erect. In this manner, the artist provided a visible transcription of the historian's injunction that on Darius the tiara be erect.“

Dieses Erklärungsmodell leuchtet zunächst ein, da das Beispiel des Dareioskraters den Großkönig eindeutig im allgemeinen Prunkkostüm der Barbaren zeigt.²⁰ Auf der »Poulydamas-Basis« in Olympia, wo Dareios II. mit einer hohen Tiara gezeigt wird, ähnelt sein hoch gegürtetes langes Gewand eher einem Theaterkostüm als den Gewändern der Perser. Daher bleibt fraglich, ob seine Kopfbedeckung sich auf die schriftlich überlieferte großkönigliche Haube bezieht.²¹

Zu Recht fragt Goldman, warum bei den Königsdarstellungen im achämenidischen Kernbereich Tiaren mit Scheitelkamm nie vorkommen, wenn diese die alleinige großkönigliche Kopfbedeckung gewesen sein soll.²² Auf den Reliefdarstellungen in Bisoutun und Persepolis tragen Dareios und Xerxes zylindrischen Kronen mit oder ohne Zinnenmuster. Diese waren zum Teil mit Metallauflagen verziert, die heute verloren sind.²³ Deshalb schlägt Goldmann vor, die Bezeichnung *tiara orthé* mit diesen Zinnenkronen zu parallelisieren.²⁴ Griechische Künstler, die diese königliche Kopfbedeckung vom Hörensagen als eine aufrecht stehende Tiara kannten, sollen sie als eine allgemeinübliche persische Tiara mit aufrechtem Kamm wiedergegeben haben.²⁵ Dabei sollen die Kopfbedeckungen der Satrapenprägungen als Modelle gedient haben.²⁶ Wenngleich diese These zunächst plausibel erscheint, liefert sie keine Erklärung dafür, warum die griechischen Autoren von der *tiara orthé* als einer Kopfbedeckung sprechen, die nur dem König vorbehalten war. Die Zinnenkrone, die Goldman als eigentliche großkönigliche Kopfbedeckung ansieht, wird nicht nur von Königen sondern auch von Frauen, Dienern und sogar Sphingen getragen.²⁷

In Rahmen seiner Dependenztheorie identifizierte Borchhardt und ihm folgend auch Dinstl bei den Grabmonumenten in Lykien und beim »Satrapensarkophag« aus Sidon die Hauptfiguren der szenischen Darstellungen

²⁰ Hölscher 1973, 178–180, Taf. 14,2. Vgl. auch Goldman 1993, 55.

²¹ Borchhardt 1983, 216–217 Abb. 4. Unverständlicherweise versucht Jacobs 1994, 142 Anm. 82 mit der Poulydamas-Basis gegen die These Goldmans zu argumentieren. Ausgehend von der Prämisse, dass es sich beim Gewand des Königs um die literarisch überlieferte *sarapis* handelt, schließt Jacobs, dass auch seine Kopfbedeckung historisch richtig sein muss. Doch wurde bereits von Gabelmann 1984, 80 Taf. 10 bemerkt, dass es sich hier um den langen Theaterchiton handelt.

²² Goldman 1993, 51.

²³ von Gall 1974, 147–161; Henkelmann 1997, 275–293. Daher bezogen einige Forscher die Bezeichnung *tiara orthé* bzw. das Synonym *kidaris* auf die Zinnenkronen. von Gall 1974, 147–161; Goldmann 1993, 51–60. Entschieden dagegen Jacobs 1994, 136.138. 142 Anm. 82.

²⁴ Goldman 1993,

²⁵ Goldmann 1993, 53–55. Dagegen folgert Jacobs 1994, 136.138 aus den Schriftquellen, dass *kidaris* nicht der Name für Zinnenkronen gewesen sein kann.

²⁶ Goldman 1993, 55.

²⁷ Jacobs 1994, 138.

jeweils als Großkönige, in deren Abhängigkeit die Grabinhaber standen.²⁸ Dementsprechend müsse es sich bei deren Kopfbedeckungen, meist Tiaren mit einem zipfelartigen Aufbau, um die *tiara orthé* handeln.²⁹ In der Forschung hat man diesen Deutungsversuch zu Recht entschieden zurückgewiesen.³⁰

Angesichts der geschilderten Schwierigkeiten bei der Identifizierung der *tiara orthé* gibt es also keine Möglichkeit, die von Akurgal vorgenommene Benennung der Kopfbedeckung des Marmorkopfes aus Herakleia weder zu bestätigen noch zu widerlegen.³¹

Abgesehen von dieser unreflektierten Benennung überzeugen auch die Vergleichsbeispiele nicht, die von Akurgal herangezogen wurden.³² So zeigen beispielsweise die Tiaren auf den erwähnten lykischen Reliefbildern des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., die mit faltigem oder fallendem Zipfel und hochansitzenden Laschen eher den phrygischen Mützen gleichen, wenig Ähnlichkeit mit der helmartig steifen Haube des herakleotischen Kopfes. Außerdem muss hier auch der große zeitliche Abstand berücksichtigt werden, der mehr als zweihundert Jahre beträgt.

In der spätarchaischen Plastik kommt als Vergleichsbeispiel für einen Mützenträger nur der als orientalischer Bogenschütze dargestellte *Paris* im Westgiebel des Athenatempels aus Ägina infrage.³³ Seine Kopfbedeckung unterscheidet sich von der des herakleotischen Kopfes insofern, als sie einen kegelförmigen Aufbau mit stirnwärts geneigtem Zipfel besitzt. Nach Gérard Seiterle handelt es sich hier um einen phrygischen Mützentypus, der aus der Bauchhaut der Stiere hergestellt wurde, wobei die Hodenbeutel den Zipfel bildeten.³⁴

Wenig ergiebig ist auch die Suche nach ähnlichen Tiaren in der Vasenmalerei. Im 6 Jh. v. Chr. wird für alle Orientalen die spitz zulaufende Mütze verwendet.³⁵ Erst die gegen 490 v. Chr. einsetzenden Perserdarstellungen

²⁸ Borchhardt 1983, 212–223; Dinstl 1990, 169, Nr. 55; Borchhardt 1999, 59–60.

²⁹ Borchhardt 1983, 220–222; Borchhardt 1999, 59–60.

³⁰ Jacobs 1987, 71–72; Childs/Demargne 1989, 265.

³¹ Das grundsätzliche Problem beim Übertragen der antiken Begriffe auf die Bildzeugnisse ist, dass die jeweiligen Quellen aus verschiedenen Epochen stammen und wir nicht wissen, ob man mit denselben Begriffen immer dieselben Realien gemeint hat. Es ist auch schwer abzuschätzen, ob die antiken Künstler und Autoren wirklich die Absicht hatten diese Realien authentisch darzustellen oder ob sie diese fremdartigen Realien mit den für griechische Betrachter und Leser verständlichen Wörtern und Bildformeln darstellten.

³² Akurgal 1986, 10–11.

³³ Seiterle 1985, Abb. 12.

³⁴ Seiterle 1985, 8 Abb. 17.

³⁵ Raeck 1985, 3.

zeigen Tiarenformen mit halbrundem oberem Abschluss.³⁶ Da bei diesen der Scheiteltamm sich meist zur Seite neigt oder einrollt, handelt es sich hier wohl um »weiche Tiaren«. Ebenso tragen die sogenannten Satrapenporträts auf den Münzen, die in den westkleinasiatischen Städten im 5. Jh. v. Chr. einsetzen, »weiche Tiaren«.³⁷

Unter den annähernd zeitgleichen Darstellungen von Tiaraträgern in Kleinasien bietet sich die Wandmalerei der Grabkammer Karaburun II zum Vergleich an, wo die Kappen mit lang herabhängenden Laschen und bis zum Rücken reichendem Nackenschutz erscheinen.³⁸ Allerdings liegen diese auf dem Scheitel flach an und tragen nicht wie beim Marmorkopf einen erhöhten Kamm. Auf den Apadana-Reliefs in Persepolis erscheint eine Anzahl von Tiarenvarianten mit steifem Oberteil. Im Vergleich zur Kappe des herakleotischen Kopfes sind dort die Tiarenkämme entweder kugelförmig abgehoben oder dreifach gekerbt.³⁹

Wenngleich die steife Haube des herakleotischen Kopfes nirgends eine überzeugende Parallele findet, kann sie grundsätzlich als eine zum medizinischen Ornat zugehörige Kopfbedeckung bestimmt werden, wobei der steife Scheiteltamm offenbar auf den höheren Rang des Trägers hinweist.

Akurgal deutet den Dargestellten wegen Kurzbart und fehlender physiognomischer Besonderheiten nicht als einen Perser, sondern als einen »anatolischen Griechen«.⁴⁰ Was die Gesichtszüge betrifft, so hat Akurgal sicher Recht. Hätte der Kopf eine für die Perser typische gebogene Nasenform gehabt, so wäre dies an der noch intakten Nasenwurzel sicher erkennbar gewesen. Allerdings hat sich die Kunstkonvention, Perser durch krumme Nasen ethnisch zu charakterisieren, in der griechischen Kunst erst in der nacharchaischen Zeit durchgesetzt.⁴¹

Was den Bart betrifft, so ist der kurze Stoppelbart nicht nur für einen Perser, sondern auch für einen Griechen unpassend. Wie bereits oben beschrieben wurde, stellt die ungleichmäßige Bearbeitung der Barttracht

³⁶ Raeck 1985, 102 Abb. 51–56. 59–60.

³⁷ Zum Beispiel auf den Münzen des Tissaphernes: Cahn 1985, 591 Abb. 5–8. Diese mit persischer Physiognomie dargestellten Köpfe werden für individuelle Porträts gehalten. Dagegen Boardman 2003, 210–212 Abb. 5: 50.

³⁸ Bingöl 1997, Taf. 8: 1–2. Bemerkenswerterweise tragen sowohl der Würdenträger auf dem Thronwagen als auch die Diener diese Tiarenform.

³⁹ Walser 1966, Taf. 32. 34. 38 (Meder/Armenier); Taf. 70 (Sogder).

⁴⁰ Akurgal 1986, 12.

⁴¹ Nylander und Flemberg 1989, 62–63 mit 40. In der Vasenmalerei begegnet die physiognomische Charakterisierung mit krummer Nase eher bei älteren Menschen. In der Plastik erscheint sie auf der sog. Boxerstele, die um 540 v. Chr. datiert wird: Karanastassis 2002, 207 Abb. 291.

eine Besonderheit dar, die Akurgal durch die darüber liegende dicke Farbschicht zu erklären versucht.⁴²

Thomas Schäfer hat jüngst eine Reihe spätarchaischer und frühklassischer Köpfe untersucht, deren Haare und Bärte ähnliche technische Merkmale aufweisen, und ist zum Ergebnis gekommen, dass diese weder Kurzhaarfrisur noch Kurzbarttracht darstellen, sondern nur die Bosse für aufgesetzte Bronzebleche bilden.⁴³ Im Falle des sogenannten Sabouroff-Kopfes in Berlin, konnte er sogar anhand einer Rekonstruktion zeigen, wie derartige Bronzeperücken vorzustellen sind (Abb. 2).⁴⁴ In diesem Zusammenhang geht Schäfer auch auf den Marmorkopf aus Herakleia ein und trägt die Argumente zusammen, warum auch bei diesem Kopf eine Bartverkleidung aus Metall vorauszusetzen ist.⁴⁵ Nicht nur die unregelmäßige Bearbeitung des Bartes spricht dafür, sondern auch gänzlich fehlende Farbspuren.⁴⁶ Statt Farbspuren befinden sich auf dem Gesicht und Bart rotbraune Verfärbungen, die durch Oxydation verursacht sind.⁴⁷

Interessanterweise befinden sich rotbraune Verfärbungen auch auf der Tiara. Dieser Befund lässt sich nur durch die darüber liegende Bronzeauflage erklären.⁴⁸ Eine völlige Verkleidung der Tiara, wie von Schäfer postuliert wurde, ist aber meines Erachtens eher unwahrscheinlich. Denn die rotbraunen Oxydationsflecken sind nicht über die ganze Mütze verteilt, sondern bilden am Scheitel zwei parallele Streifen und führen schräg zum Hinterkopf. Da solche Spuren nicht zufällig entstanden sein können,⁴⁹ vermuten sie, dass die Bronzeauflage ein schmales Band, also ein Diadem gewesen sein muss. Dafür sprechen auch die senkrechten Rostspuren am Hinterkopf, die möglicherweise von Schleifenenden des Diadems stammen. Das Vorhandensein eines Diadems auf der Tiara wird auch dadurch bestätigt, dass auf der sorgfältig geglätteten Oberfläche der Tiara die Aufrauungen

⁴² Akurgal 1986, 10: "Die Unregelmäßigkeit in der Arbeitsweise war aber unwichtig. Denn die mit Schlageisen aufgerauten Stellen wurden farbig bemalt, so dass die Unterschiede in der Bearbeitung des Haarbodens dann nicht mehr sichtbar waren."

⁴³ Schäfer 1996, 25–74.

⁴⁴ Schäfer 2003, 576–577 Abb. 4–5. Ursprünglich hatte Blümel 1968, 11–24 beim Sabouroff-Kopf eine Stuckfrisur angenommen.

⁴⁵ Schäfer 1996, 57.

⁴⁶ Akurgal 1986, 10 erklärt die fehlenden Farbspuren durch die Reinigung des Kopfes mit Seife. Dagegen vertritt Schäfer 1996, 57 Anm. 129 die Ansicht, dass wirkliche Farbspuren auch nach einer solchen Reinigung zumindest in den Pickungen zu erkennen sein müssten, wäre der Bart tatsächlich bemalt gewesen.

⁴⁷ Akurgal 1986, 9.

⁴⁸ Schäfer 1996, 57.

⁴⁹ Da diese Streifen auf dem Foto wie ein Band wirken, erklärt Akurgal 1986, 9. 10 bezeichnenderweise zweimal, dass es sich hier nicht um ein Kopfband, sondern lediglich um zufällige Oxydationsstreifen handele.

nur im oberen Bereich vorkommen und offenbar rund um den Kopf führen.⁵⁰ Leider lässt sich anhand der Fotos nicht überprüfen, wie die Rostspuren sich zu den bossierten Stellen verhalten. Die schräg aufsteigenden Parallellinien in der Vorderansicht lassen jedenfalls annehmen, dass das Diadem an dieser Stelle verrutschte, als der Kopf unter die Erde kam. Wenn diese Schlussfolgerungen richtig sind, so muss der Marmorkopf aus Herakleia ursprünglich einen langen Bronzebart und ein Bronzediadem über der Tiara getragen haben.

Nun bleibt zu fragen, ob dieses neu gewonnene Element der Kopfbedeckung einen Anhaltspunkt für die Identität des Dargestellten liefern kann.

Xenophon zufolge war das über eine Tiara gebundene Diadem ein herrschaftliches Zeichen und wurde vom König und seinen Verwandten bzw. Freunden getragen.⁵¹ Im Zusammenhang mit der Schlacht bei Issos beschreibt Quintus Curtius Rufus, dass Dareios III. eine Tiara mit einem weißen Diadem trug. Auch Kyros I. (Xenophon 8,3,13) und Dareios I. (Polyaen 9, 8) sollen über ihren großköniglichen Tiaren Diademe getragen haben.⁵²

Anders als in der Darstellung von Quintus Curtius Rufus fehlt auf dem Alexandermosaik gerade beim Großkönig ein solches Diadem, während die weiße Stirnbinde bei einem der persischen Krieger erscheint.⁵³ Ob diese Binde dennoch eine besondere Bedeutung hatte, oder lediglich zum festen Sitz der Tiara diente, ist in der Forschung umstritten.⁵⁴

Uneinigkeit herrscht auch darüber, ob es sich bei den Diademen der Köpfe auf den kleinasiatischen Satrapenprägungen um ein Amtszeichen handelt (Abb. 3:1–4).⁵⁵ Jan Zahle bringt die auf der Stirn verknoteten Binden auf einigen Satrapenprägungen (Abb. 3: 3–4) mit dem literarisch überlieferten Erkennungszeichen der sieben Perser in Zusammenhang,⁵⁶ während das am Hinterkopf verknotete Diadem ein anderes großkönigliches Ehrenzeichen sein soll.⁵⁷ Doch konnten wohl auch Regionalkönige und

⁵⁰ Akurgal 1986, 9: "das Gesicht und die Mütze sind durch Reiben fein geglättet; dabei sind einige zu tiefe Schlägeisenhiebe an der Kopfbedeckung vorn oben und auf der Rückseite an mehreren Stellen stehen geblieben."

⁵¹ Xenophon, Kyropädie 8, 3, 13. s. o. Anm. 15. Vgl. Ritter 1965, 6.

⁵² Ritter 1965, 6.

⁵³ von Gall 1990, 322 Taf. 45, 1. Vgl. dazu Pfrommer 1998, 58–59.

⁵⁴ Von Gall 1990, 322; Pfrommer 1998, 58–59 mit Anm. 402; Borchhardt 1999, 65 mit Anm. 96.

⁵⁵ Auf dem *pajawa* —Sarkophag von Xanthos trägt die inschriftlich als der Satrap Autosphrades gekennzeichnete Figur jedenfalls kein Diadem: Borchhardt 1999, 68 Taf. 16, 4. Nach Borchhardt 1999, 66 die auf lykischen Münzen dargestellten Tiaraträger mit oder ohne Diadem sollten "als persisches Hoheitszeichen" verstanden werden.

⁵⁶ Zahle 1982, 104–108; Zustimmend auch Cahn 1985, 101–106; Borchhardt 1999, 61.

⁵⁷ von Gall 1990, 322. Borchhardt 1999, 63–64 identifiziert die Tiaraträger mit am Hinterkopf geknotetem Diadem als Satrapen.

Dynasten über ihre Tiaren Diademe binden, wie dies im Falle der lykischen Münzen erschlossen wurde (Abb. 3:5).⁵⁸

Eine mit Diadem umwundene steife Tiara als königliches Herrschaftssymbol kann nur auf den Münzen der hellenistischen Könige aus Kappadokien, Parthien und Armenien nachgewiesen werden (Abb. 3:7–9), die auch bei den kolossalen Königs- und Götterköpfen auf dem Nemrud Dağ erscheinen.⁵⁹

Aus diesem Überblick lässt sich folgendes festhalten: Die aus Tiara und Diadem bestehende Kopfbedeckung ist in der Bildkunst sowohl bei Satrapen als auch bei lokalen Dynasten als Rangzeichen bezeugt. Entgegen der literarischen Überlieferung ist sie in der achämenidischen Zeit bei gesicherten Darstellungen des Großkönigs nicht belegt. Fest steht jedoch, dass die hohe Tiara mit dem am Hinterkopf gebundenen Diadem in der hellenistischen Zeit die Bedeutung einer königlichen Insignie hatte.

Demzufolge führt die neu gewonnene Erkenntnis vom Bronzediadem des herakleotischen Marmorkopfes nicht zwingend zur Präzisierung des Deutungsvorschlags von Akurgal, der zwischen Satrap, Tyrann und Dynast variiert. Eine Einengung dieses Deutungsspektrums könnte nur durch die Einbettung der Marmorskulptur in die Geschichte Herakleias erzielt werden.

Die stilistische Verwandtschaft des herakleotischen Kopfes mit dem oben erwähnten Sabouroff-Kopf in Berlin ist so groß (Abb. 2), dass die Forschung für die beiden Köpfe etwa dieselbe Entstehungszeit annahm.⁶⁰ Akurgal ging dabei von einer Datierung zwischen 540–530 v. Chr. aus, die von einem Teil der Forschung für den Sabouroff-Kopf vorgeschlagen wurde.⁶¹ Unberücksichtigt blieb dabei der Vorschlag für einen späteren Zeitansatz. Wie Blümel und Schäfer richtig gesehen haben, fügt sich das mit Bart- und Haarerergänzungen gewonnene Erscheinungsbild des Sabouroff-Kopfes eher in die Plastik des späten 6. Jhs. v. Chr. Ein.⁶² Folglich scheint

⁵⁸ Gegen die allgemeine Forschungsmeinung konnte Jan Zahle im Falle der lykischen Münzen wahrscheinlich machen, dass es sich hier nicht um Satrapen, sondern um lokale Dynasten handelt: Zahle 1982, 101–112. Nach Zahle 1990, 51–56 sind die Tiara-Träger mit oder ohne Binde auf lykischen Prägungen Porträts der lokalen Dynasten, die durch diese Kopfbedeckung ihre enge Beziehung zum Satrapen demonstrieren wollten. Borchhardt 1983, 220. Abb. 7 und Dinstl 1990, 169 deuten den Anführer der Reiterhorde auf dem Westfries des Heroons in Limyra, der eine Tiara mit Diadem trägt, als Artaxerxes Ochos.

⁵⁹ von Gall 1990, 321. Abb. g-d. Goldman 1993, Abb. 2, 29–34. Zu den Tiaren der Kolossalköpfe auf dem Nemrud Dağ: Young 1964, 29–34.

⁶⁰ Robinson bei Akurgal 1986, 14; Akurgal 1986, 13; Schäfer 1996, 57.

⁶¹ Floren 1987, 261, Taf. 23, 3: kurz nach der Jahrhundertmitte. Karanastassis 2002, 207 behandelt ihn unter den hocharchaischen Skulpturen. Dagegen Stenz 2001, 38. 114: 530–520 v. Chr.

⁶² Blümel 1968, 23; Schäfer 2003, 577.

auch für den Kopf mit Tiara aus Herakleia eine Entstehungszeit zwischen 520–510 v. Chr. plausibel.

Ausgehend von diesem zeitlichen Ansatz, ist nun nach den politischen Gegebenheiten in Herakleia im späten 6. Jahrhundert zu fragen, in der die Skulptur eines Tiaraträgers mit golden glänzendem Bart und Diadem aufgestellt wurde. Das aus den Schriftquellen ermittelte Bild über die Frühgeschichte Herakleias ist leider unscharf. Laut Überlieferung ist Herakleia im Jahre 556 v. Chr. von Siedlern aus Megara und Boeotien gegründet worden.⁶³ Die Stadtgründung erfolgte möglicherweise im Einvernehmen mit den lokalen Mariandynen, indem die Kolonisten ein begrenztes Land zugeteilt bekamen. Aristoteles (*Politeia* 5, 4, 2) zufolge gab es in Herakleia zunächst eine demokratische politische Organisation, die nach einer Weile verworfen wurde. Als Grund dafür gibt Aristoteles innenpolitische Streitigkeiten an, infolge dessen Aristokraten ins Exil geschickt wurden. Diese sollten jedoch wieder zurückgekommen sein und in Herakleia ein oligarchisches System eingeführt haben.⁶⁴ Obgleich Aristoteles keine chronologischen Anhaltspunkte für diesen politischen Prozess überliefert, geht man davon aus, dass die Auflösung der Demokratie im späten 6. Jh. v. Chr. begann und sich im 5. Jh. v. Chr. zu einer extremen Oligarchie entwickelte.⁶⁵ Wahrscheinlich geht die Unterwerfung und Versklavung der lokalen Mariandynoi mit dieser politischen Entwicklung einher.⁶⁶

Vor diesem geschichtlichen Hintergrund ist kaum anzunehmen, dass man in Herakleia für einen Tyrannen eine Statue aufgestellt hat. Im späten 6. Jahrhundert herrschten zwar griechische Tyrannen in einigen ionischen Städten, die ihre Macht den Persern zu verdanken hatten,⁶⁷ doch findet sich in der geschichtlichen Überlieferung kein Hinweis dafür, dass dies auch in

⁶³ Dieses Datum wird aus der Überlieferung von Pseudo-Skymnos (968–975) erschlossen, nach der Herakleia vier Jahre nach der Eroberung Mediens durch Kyros gegründet wurde.

⁶⁴ Asheri 1972, 29–31; Saprykin 1997, 31.

⁶⁵ Saprykin 1997, 31.

⁶⁶ Nach Meinung der Historiker (Asheri 1972, 29; Saprykin 1997, 31–33) führte die Landknappheit, die durch die neuen Siedler aus Griechenland verursacht wurde, zum politischen Wechsel von Demokratie zur Oligarchie. Als die Oligarchen durch neue Landgewinne das Territorium der Stadt erweitern wollten, sollen die Auseinandersetzungen mit den einheimischen Mariandynen begonnen haben. Die lang andauernden Kämpfe zwischen Herakleoten und Mariandynoi werden aus einer Stelle bei Pausanias (5, 26, 7) erschlossen, nach der die Herakleoten in Olympia zum Andenken ihrer Siege über die Mariandynoi eine Statuengruppe, die Herakles Taten gegen den nemeischen Löwen, die Hydra, den erymantischen Eber und den Hadeshund zeigte.

⁶⁷ Ein Beispiel dafür ist Histaios, der Tyrann von Milet, der wohl als Führer der ionischen Flotte den Skythenzug des Großkönigs begleitete: Briant 1996, 156–157.10–163. Zum Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zwischen griechischer Tyrannen und dem achämenidischen Großkönig: Luraghi 1998, 22–46.

Herakleia der Fall war. Die Tyrannenherrschaft in Herakleia, auf die Akurgal sich bei seiner Deutung stützt, wurde dort erst im 4. Jh. v. Chr. eingeführt, also mehr als zweihundert Jahre⁶⁸ nach dem die Marmorskulptur geschaffen wurde. Außerdem betont der lokale Geschichtsschreiber Memnon ausdrücklich, dass Klearchos der erste Tyrann von Herakleia war.⁶⁹

Angesichts der Nachrichten von der Unterwerfung der einheimischen *Mariandynoi* scheint ebenso unwahrscheinlich, dass in Herakleia ein lokaler Dynast oder König herrschte, für den die Statue aufgestellt sein konnte.

Andererseits folgt Saprykin aus der literarischen Überlieferung, dass das oligarchische System in Herakleia mit der politischen Unterstützung der Perser gefestigt wurde.⁷⁰ Fest steht jedenfalls, dass die Stadt aus Loyalität zu den Achämeniden im 5. Jahrhundert sich geweigert hat dem delisch-attischen Seebund Tribut zu zahlen.⁷¹

Bereits kurz nach seiner Gründung, d. h. ab 546 v. Chr. befand sich Herakleia faktisch im achämenidischen Machtbereich. Die Stadt war, wie auch andere griechische Kolonien der Schwarzmeerküste, formal dem Großkönig unterworfen, konnte aber dank ihrer Loyalität eine gewisse Eigenständigkeit bewahren.⁷² Dagegen wurden die einheimischen Völker der Region wie die Mariandynen und Paphlagonier, der Satrapenverwaltung in Daskyleion zugeordnet.⁷³

Obgleich in der schriftlichen Überlieferung keine konkreten Hinweise darüber zu finden sind, ist anzunehmen, dass die griechischen Städte der Schwarzmeerküste im Zuge der Vorbereitungen des Skythenzuges für Dareios wichtig wurden.⁷⁴ Im Jahre 513/512 v. Chr. setzte Dareios mit 600

⁶⁸ Akurgal 1986, 12: "Das Vorhandensein der Tyrannenherrschaft in Herakleia im 4. Jh. dürfte uns gestatten anzunehmen, dass diese Stadt auch schon im 6. Jh. v. Chr., kurz nach ihrer Gründung durch Kolonisten aus Megara, in persischen Händen war und von Satrapen oder Dynasten regiert wurde." Zur Tyrannis in Herakleia: Saprykin 1997, 131–160.

⁶⁹ Memnon (FGrH 434 F1) Vgl. Asheri 1972, 30. Nach einer anekdotenhaften Überlieferung von Suida (s.v. Klearchos) soll es in Herakleia einen Tyrannen namens Euopios bereits vor Klearchos gegeben haben. Die historische Authentizität dieser Information wird jedoch angezweifelt: Asheri 1972, 30 und Saprykin 1997, 43–44 mit Anm. 61. Saprykin halten es für möglich, dass es sich bei Euopios um den legendären König der Mariandynoi Upius handelt.

⁷⁰ Saprykin 1997, 49.

⁷¹ Die Weigerung Herakleias in den delischen Seebund Tribut zu zahlen, wird von Justin (16, 3) überliefert. Vgl. Saprykin 1997, 49.

⁷² Saprykin 1997, 49–50.

⁷³ Diese erscheinen in den Steuerlisten Herodots (3, 90–94) und im Heerkontingent des Xerxes gegen Griechenland (Herodot 7, 72): Briant 1996, 402.

⁷⁴ Nach R. Schmitt 1996, 220–224 geht der Name des Schwarzen Meeres auf das persische Wort *Axsaina* (dunkles Meer im Norden) zurück, das zusammen mit "Rotes Meer" (südliches Meer) ein achämenidisches Konzept der Thalassanomenklatur wiedergibt. Diese beiden Meere bildeten die natürlichen Grenzen der Achämenidischen Reiches.

Schiffen und 700 000 Soldaten über den Bosphorus nach Thrakien über, um gegen die Steppennomaden des nördlichen Schwarzmeergebiets zu ziehen.⁷⁵ Wenngleich Herodot unter den Städten, die bei dieser Schwarzmeerexpedition des Dareios beteiligt waren, Herakleia nicht aufzählt, muss die Stadt allein wegen ihrer geographischen Nähe bei diesem Unternehmen involviert gewesen sein.⁷⁶

Wohl im Zusammenhang mit diesem Skythenzug steht die Nachricht von Ktesias, nach der der kappadokische Satrap Ariaramnes auf Befehl des Dareios mit 30 Pentekoteren über das Schwarze Meer setzte, um im Skythengebiet Gefangene zu machen.⁷⁷ Aus welcher Hafenstadt der Satrap lossegelte, überliefert Ktesias nicht. Dafür kommt neben Herakleia auch Sinope infrage, da die beiden Städte die besten Häfen der südlichen Schwarzmeerküste darstellen.⁷⁸

Berücksichtigt man jedoch die oben erwähnte Treue der Herakleoten gegenüber den Persern, so ist denkbar, dass der Satrap sich anlässlich seiner Schwarzmeerexpedition in Herakleia aufhielt. Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint die Annahme schlüssig, dass Herakleoten mit der Errichtung einer Statue den Satrapen ehren wollten. Statuarische Satrapenbildnisse sind zwar archäologisch nicht überliefert, doch muss es laut schriftlicher Überlieferung solche Statuen gegeben haben. Diodorus Siculus (17, 17, 6) erwähnt eine Statue des Ariobarzanes, Satrap in Phrygien zwischen 387–363/362 v. Chr., die in einem Athenatempel in der Troas aufgestellt wurde.⁷⁹ Eine Reliefdarstellung des Satrapen Autophradates ist auf dem Payawa-Sarkophag inschriftlich gesichert.⁸⁰ Diese Belege stammen jedoch sämtlich aus dem 4. Jahrhundert und können nicht zwingend die Existenz von Satrapenstandbildern im späten 6. Jahrhundert bezeugen. Außerdem muss man sich vor Augen halten, dass die Herakleoten politisch nicht vom Satrapen, sondern vom Großkönig abhängig waren. Schließlich sollte auch die Möglichkeit in Erwägung gezogen werden, dass die Herakleoten als Loyalitätsbekundung für den Großkönig ein Standbild aufgestellt haben könnten. Neben der leider ohne Kopf erhaltenen Statue aus Susa,⁸¹ bezeugen die

⁷⁵ Briant 1996, 154.

⁷⁶ Descat 1990, 542.

⁷⁷ Fragment überliefert bei Photius 16. Vgl. Briant 1996, 155.

⁷⁸ Descat 1990, 542 denkt hier an Amisos und Sinope, die dem Satrapen Schiffe zur Verfügung gestellt haben könnten.

⁷⁹ In den Briefen von Arsam, Satrap von Ägypten, ist davon die Rede, dass ionische und karische Bildhauer beschäftigt wurden, um für ihn Reiterstatuen zu schaffen: Dusinberre 2003, 84–85.

⁸⁰ Jacobs 1987, Taf. 7, 2; Borchhardt 1999, 68, Taf. 16,4.

⁸¹ Lushey 1983, 191–206 Abb. 4.5.7 rekonstruiert zwei gegenständige Statuen am Darius-Tor in Susa.

Schriftquellen, dass es viele öffentlich aufgestellte Bildnisse von Dareios I. gegeben haben muss. Herodot (3, 88) berichtet von einem Reliefbild, das den Großkönig als Reiter darstellte.⁸² Wiederum durch Herodots Überlieferung wissen wir von einem Gemälde, das den Großkönig mit seinem Heer beim Überqueren seiner kühnen Bosporusbrücke zeigte.⁸³

Wenngleich eine endgültige Benennung des Dargestellten noch offen bleiben soll, kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, dass der Marmorkopf mit Tiara und Diadem nur einen persischen Machthaber darstellen kann (Abb. 4). Der nicht erhaltene Körper der Statue war wahrscheinlich der Kopfbedeckung entsprechend mit der medischen Hosentracht bekleidet. Möglicherweise waren neben Barthaaren und Diadem auch bestimmte Gewandteile mit goldgelb glänzendem Bronzeblech verkleidet.

Wenn diese Schlussfolgerungen zutreffen, so stellt die Skulptur aus Herakleia nicht nur das früheste Zeugnis für die statuarische Darstellung eines Herrschers, sondern auch eines Persers in der griechischen Kunst dar.⁸⁴ Zum Schluss soll die von Akurgal vorgeschlagene Zuweisung des herakleotischen Kopfes zu einer milesischen Werkstatt diskutiert werden. Als Begründung dafür führt der Autor die Aufrauung des Bartes mit »senkrechten Hieben eines Schlageisens« an.⁸⁵ Da diese Arbeitsweise in ähnlicher Weise auch bei der bekannten Löwenkulptur aus Milet vorkommt, müsse auch der Marmorkopf aus Herakleia von einem »Künstler der milesischen Schule« geschaffen worden sein. Vergleicht man ihn jedoch mit den etwa zeitgleichen Köpfen der Säulenreliefs aus Didyma,⁸⁶ so fällt es schwer sich vorzustellen, dass diese Werke aus demselben Kunstkreis stammen können. Weder die Gesichtsproportion noch die Form von Augen und Mund ist vergleichbar. Die sanft gewölbten Wangenknochen, die ovale Augenform und der volllippige Mund des herakleotischen Kopfes haben nichts gemein mit den aufgedunsenen didymäischen Gesichtern mit schmalen Augen und lang gezogenen Mündern mit schmalen Lippen. Vielmehr lässt die oben erwähnte enge stilistische Verwandtschaft zwischen dem herakleotischen Kopf und dem Sabouroff-Kopf (Abb. 2), der einer äginetischen Schule zugewiesen wurde,⁸⁷ denken, dass der Bildhauer vielleicht aus einem inselionischen

⁸² Vgl. dazu Borchhardt 1983, 208.

⁸³ Herodot 4, 88. Vgl. dazu Hölscher 1973, 35–37.

⁸⁴ Die leider ohne Kopf erhaltene Statue des sogenannten Perserreiters aus dem späten 6. Jh. wird als ein Skythe gedeutet: Stucky 1982, 97–101.

⁸⁵ Akurgal 1986, 13.

⁸⁶ Felten 1987, Taf. 33, 3.

⁸⁷ Walter-Karydi 1987, 75 Taf. 19. weist den Sabouroff-Kopf einer äginetischen Werkstatt zu und sieht ihn als Vorläufer der äginetischen Krieger (Walter-Karydi 1987, Taf. 28.29.36) an.

Kunstkreis stammte. Da aber die Herakleoten aus Megara und Boeotien stammen, wäre es auch nicht abwegig, die Schule, zu der der Bildhauer der Marmorkopfes gehörte, auf dem griechischen Festland zu suchen. Die Überlieferung von Pausanias, Herakleia Pontike hätte eine Statuengruppe mit Taten des Herakles nach Olympia geschickt,⁸⁸ lässt sogar annehmen, das es dort eine eigenständige Bildhauerschule gab.

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⁸⁸ Pausanias (5, 26, 7) s. o. Anm. 65.

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Abb. 1 Marmorkopf aus Herakleia Pontike, Museum für Anatolische Zivilisationen, Ankara.
Nach Akurgal 1987, Taf. 22.23.



Abb. 2 Gipsabguss und Rekonstruktion des "Saboureff-Kopfes".
Nach Schäfer 2003, 578 Abb. 7.

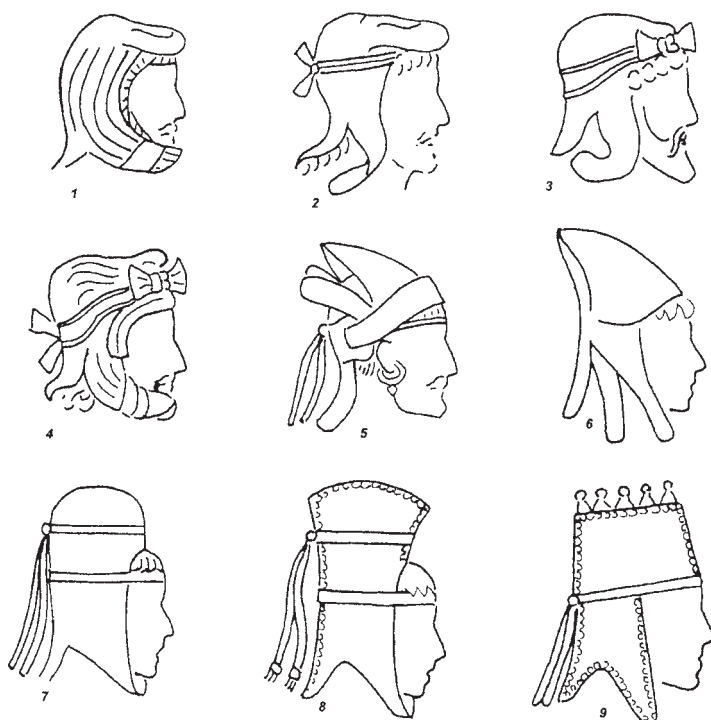


Abb. 3 Skizzen von Kopfbedeckungen auf klassischen und hellenistischen Münzen.
Nach von Gall 1990, Abb. 1.



Abb. 4 Zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Marmorkopfes aus Herakleia Pontike

Achämenidische Verwaltung und Hinweise auf sie in den Randgebieten des persischen Großreiches

Heidemarie KOCH

c/o CA
Biegenstr. 11
35032 Marburg
GERMANY
E-mail: kochh@staff.uni-marburg.de

Abstract

*Cuneiform tablets, written in Elamite script and language, found at Persepolis, which once were part of the archive of King Darius the Great (522–486 BC), are very informative about life in the Achaemenid Empire. They enlighten us on dignitaries and officials, their position and their function, and the districts for which they were responsible. Comparable to the centre of the Persian empire is the situation in the satrapies. Officials like treasurers and tax collectors are known from Arachosia, for instance, and administrative buildings copy constructions from Persepolis (e.g. at Tacht-e Sangin at the Oxos-river). No administrative centre in Georgia in Achaemenid times has been found so far. But the find of Elamite tablets at Armavir Blur (Armenia) may suggest that there was a comparable institution in Georgia too. Some support comes from Sasanian times when a satrap by the name of Papak became »viceroy of Iran«, which at least points to the importance of Georgia held for the Persian empire.**

In den Jahren 1933 und 1934 wurden bei Ausgrabungen in Persepolis einige Tausend an Tontäfelchen gefunden, von denen allerdings erst gut

* Es handelt sich um einen Vortrag, der auf dem internationalen Symposion vom 28.9. — 3.10. 1997 in Tbilisi gehalten worden ist. Durch ein Versehen ist er nicht in AMIT 32, 2000, erschienen. Dieses hat leider zur Folge, daß der Beitrag nunmehr lediglich dem Gedenken an Otar Lordkipanidze gewidmet sein kann.

2000 publiziert worden sind. Die in einem Turm der nördlichen Befestigungsmauer von Persepolis archivierten Täfelchen stammen aus dem Verwaltungsarchiv Dareios d.Gr. und sind datiert in die Jahre 509 bis 494 v.Chr. Verbucht sind auf ihnen Einnahmen und Ausgaben von Getreide, Früchten, Wein und Vieh. Nur ein kleiner Teil — etwa 100 Täfelchen — ist im Schatzhaus von Persepolis gefunden und unter der Regierung von Xerxes und den ersten Jahren von Artaxerxes angefertigt worden, ist also bis gegen die Mitte des 5. Jhs. v.Chr. zu datieren. Diese Belege betreffen ausschließlich Zahlungen in Silber.

Alle diese Täfelchen sind in elamischer Sprache und Schrift abgefaßt, da die Perser zunächst über keine eigene Schrift verfügten. Die altpersische Keilschrift ist erst auf Veranlassung Dareios' d.Gr. erfunden worden. Zudem konnten die Elamer, die ja im Gebiet des persischen Kernlandes beheimatet waren, auf eine jahrtausendealte Erfahrung in Verwaltungsfragen zurückgreifen. Die elamische Sprache ist mit keiner anderen uns bekannten Sprache verwandt und somit entsprechend schwierig zu verstehen. Das erste Wörterbuch dieser Sprache überhaupt ist 1987 erschienen, von meinem Lehrer Walther Hinz und mir verfaßt.¹ Dennoch sind bis heute viele Fragen ungeklärt und die Bedeutung einer größeren Anzahl von Wörtern unbekannt. Aus diesem Grunde konnte auch erst in den letzten Jahren damit begonnen werden, diese Quellen systematisch zu bearbeiten. Obwohl es sich in der Regel nur um kurze Verwaltungsnotizen handelt, besitzen diese Täfelchen doch einen unermesslichen Wert, da es sich bei ihnen um gut datierte, authentische Quellen handelt, die zudem in keiner Weise dazu dienen sollten, irgendwelche politischen oder historischen Aussagen zu machen. So kann man zu sehr interessanten Ergebnissen kommen, wenn man alle Hinweise, die auf den Täfelchen zu finden sind, im Zusammenhang betrachtet.

Ich habe dieses anhand des publizierten Materials versucht, ein Ergebnis ist u.a. meine Arbeit über »Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden«.² Betrachtet man z.B. die verbuchten Lieferungen an Naturalien, die von einem Ort zu einem anderen vorgenommen wurden, so erhält man ein gewisses geographisches Raster, in das die über 400 genannten Orte eingefügt werden können. Insgesamt ergeben sich in der Persis sechs Verwaltungsbezirke (Abb. 1). Ergänzt werden können die so gewonnenen Zuordnungen, wenn man die Beamten betrachtet, die in den einzelnen Gebieten tätig sind. Sie haben bestimmte Ressorts

¹ Hinz und Koch 1987.

² Koch 1990.

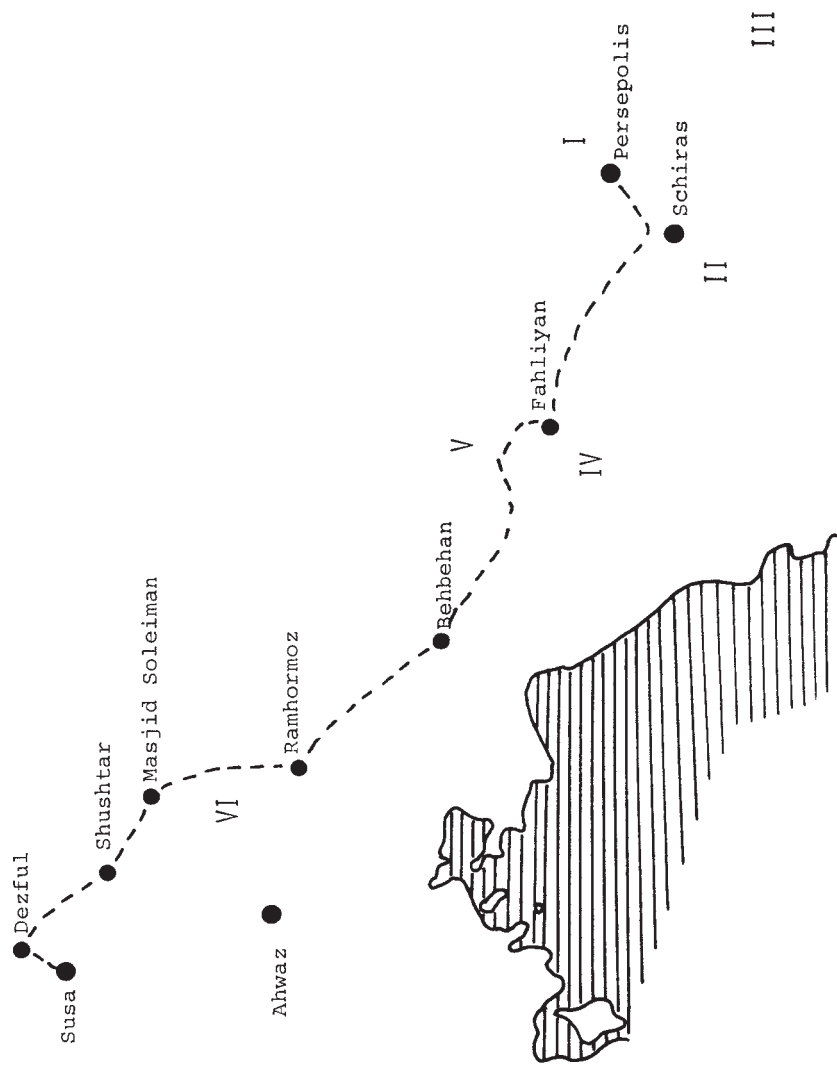


Abb. 1. Die Verwaltungsbezirke der Persis

unter sich, sind z.B. für den Getreideanbau, die Ausgabe von Saatgut und Einnahme von Ernteabgaben ebenso wie für die Lieferung dieser Nahrungsmittel an Arbeiter zuständig. Andere haben für den Weinanbau, Herstellung und Lagerung wie auch die verschiedenen Lieferungen zu sorgen. Somit ist ein Beamter häufig für mehrere Orte eines Verwaltungsbezirkes zuständig. Auf diese Weise erhalten wir ebenfalls eine Vorstellung, wie die einzelnen Orte zueinander gelegen haben müssen.

Neben diesen geographischen Erkenntnissen gewinnt man bei diesen Untersuchungen auch einen Einblick in die verschiedenen großen Zuständigkeitsbereiche der einzelnen Beamten, ihre Rangfolge und damit in den Aufbau der achämenidischen Verwaltung. (Abb. 2) Die eben betrachteten Beamten würden denjenigen entsprechen, die auf der Abbildung das untere Drittel anführen: Getreideverwalter — Obstwart — Weinträger — Herdenmeister. Jeder von ihnen hatte noch einen Stellvertreter, der vergleichbare Aufgaben zu erledigen und den betreffenden Beamten bei Abwesenheit zu vertreten hatte. Diesen untergeordnet waren Lagerverwalter, Speicherwarte bzw. Hirten, die sich um die Viehherden kümmerten. Tausende von Arbeitern, die in Hundert- und Zehnerschaften eingeteilt waren, jeweils mit eigenem Anführer, waren in öffentlichem Auftrag tätig und wurden auch an verschiedenen Orten eingesetzt. Unter ihnen finden sich oft auch Gastarbeiter aus entfernten Gebieten des Achämenidenreiches, z.B. Karer, Thraker oder Zyprioten, die mitunter zu Tausenden z.B. zu Ernteeinsätzen in bestimmte Gegenden geschickt wurden. Über alle diese Arbeiter wurde genauestens Buch geführt, nicht nur ihre Einsatzgebiete sondern auch die Höhe ihrer Rationen festgelegt und woher diese beschafft werden sollten.

An der Spitze eines Verwaltungsbezirkes stand jeweils ein Leiter der Intendantur, dem alle örtlichen Beamten unterstellt waren. Zwischen ihnen vermittelten sog. Beschaffungsbeamte, die den Überblick über die Lieferbewegungen des ganzen Gebietes hatten und somit schon eine recht hohe Stellung bekleideten. Mit demselben Titel werden auch die obersten Verwaltungsbeamten der Schatzhäuser bezeichnet. Diese Schatzhäuser waren nicht nur zum Horten kostbarer Gegenstände bestimmt, sondern es wurden dort auch verschiedenste Waren hergestellt. So glichen sie eher Manufakturen, in denen Hunderte von Arbeitern damit beschäftigt waren, Möbel, Teppiche, Kleidung und vieles mehr herzustellen. Alle diese in den Schatzhäusern tätigen Arbeiter, auch die Vorarbeiter, Kontrolleure usw., standen indessen stets unter der obersten Leitung einer Frau.

Der Zuständigkeitsbereich eines Hofintendanten ging über die Grenzen der einzelnen Verwaltungsbezirke hinaus. Nur zwei derartige Beamte waren für die gesamte Persis einschließlich Elymais zuständig. In Rang und

König

Alleinherrscher

ihm zur Seite stehen als oberste Verwaltungsbeamte der

Hofmarschall

und sein Vertreter der

Vizemarschall

als nächste in der Rangordnung folgen der

Hofschatzward und 2 Hofintendanten

die für die gesamte Persis zuständig waren;

in jedem Verwaltungsbezirk gab es je einen

Leiter einer Intendantur

für diesen arbeiteten eine ganze Reihe an

Beschaffungsbeamten

ein solcher stand auch jeweils an der Spitze der Verwaltung eines Schatzhauses;

die ihnen unterstellten Beamten waren für bestimmte Ressorts zuständig:

Getreideverwalter - Obstward - Weinträger - Herdenmeister

sie alle hatten noch Stellvertreter;

außerdem waren für sie tätig:

Lagerverwalter - bzw. - Hirten

die Basis bildeten Tausende von

Arbeitern

die in Hundert- und Zehnerschaften mit ihren jeweiligen Führern gegliedert waren.

Abb. 2 Aufbau der achämenidischen Verwaltung

Bezahlung gleichgestellt war diesen beiden der Hofschatzwart. Ihm unterstanden sämtliche Schatzhäuser der Persis, und er überwachte die Steuer- und Tributabgaben ebenso wie die Ausgaben an Edelmetallen.

An höchster Stelle stand der König, und ihm direkt verantwortlich waren der Hofmarschall mit seinem Vertreter, dem Vizemarschall. Für diese beiden — und nur für sie — waren auch die Schreiber der Hofkanzlei tätig, die ihrerseits in vielen Fällen mit ihren Namen für die Richtigkeit der Urkunden geradestanden. Unter Dareios war jahrelang Farnaka als Hofmarschall tätig. Er ist vermutlich auf dem großen Audienzrelief in Persepolis wiedergegeben, wie er sich ehrfurchtsvoll vor dem König verbeugt und seine Hand vor den Mund nimmt, um seine Majestät nicht mit dem Atem zu belästigen (Abb. 3), obwohl ja noch zwei Weihrauchgefäße dazwischen aufgestellt sind. Hatte der Vizemarschall im Grunde auch dieselben Aufgaben zu erfüllen wie der Hofmarschall, so ist dennoch ein erheblicher Rangunterschied in ihrer Bezahlung zu bemerken. Während dem Hofmarschall Farnaka täglich zwei Stück Kleinvieh, 9 Liter Wein oder Bier und 18 Liter feines Mehl zustanden, erhielt der Vizemarschall nur ein Drittel davon an Wein und Mehl, aber doch immerhin – an Kleinvieh, nämlich 45 Stück im Monat.

Sitz der zentralen Verwaltung in der Persis war vermutlich das Schatzhaus in Persepolis. Der ursprüngliche Plan des Dareios sah nur drei Gebäude auf der Terrasse vor (Abb. 4): den großen Empfangssaal, den sog. Apadana, daneben den Palast des Dareios und das Schatzhaus. Der Zugang auf die Terrasse erfolgte zunächst von Süden her, neben den von Dareios dort an der Mauer angebrachten Inschriften.³ Diesem Zugang am nächsten lag das Schatzhaus, das ja auch den meisten Publikumsverkehr hatte. Es war eine festungsartige Anlage, umgeben von etwa 3 m starken, fensterlosen Lehmziegelwänden (Abb. 5). Nur ein einziger Eingang war vorhanden, u.z. im Westen, nahe dem Aufweg zur Terrasse. Ein Besucher des Schatzhauses kam zunächst in einen kleineren Raum, vermutlich eine Wachstube, in der er sein Anliegen vortragen und sich ausweisen mußte. Durch eine zweite Tür konnte man einen Korridor betreten. Rechts und links von ihm befanden sich zwei etwa gleichgroße Räume, deren Decken von je vier Säulen gestützt wurden. Hier werden die Beamten gesessen haben, die den üblichen Publikumsverkehr abzufertigen hatten. Zu ihnen kamen die Boten mit den Abrechnungen aus der gesamten Persis, die dann an die jeweiligen Prüfer weitergereicht und schließlich archiviert wurden. Hier wurden auch Abgaben an Kleidern, Schmuck und Gefäßen abgeliefert. Die kostbarsten Stücke

³ Zu der Bauabfolge s. Koch 1987; s.a. Koch 2001.

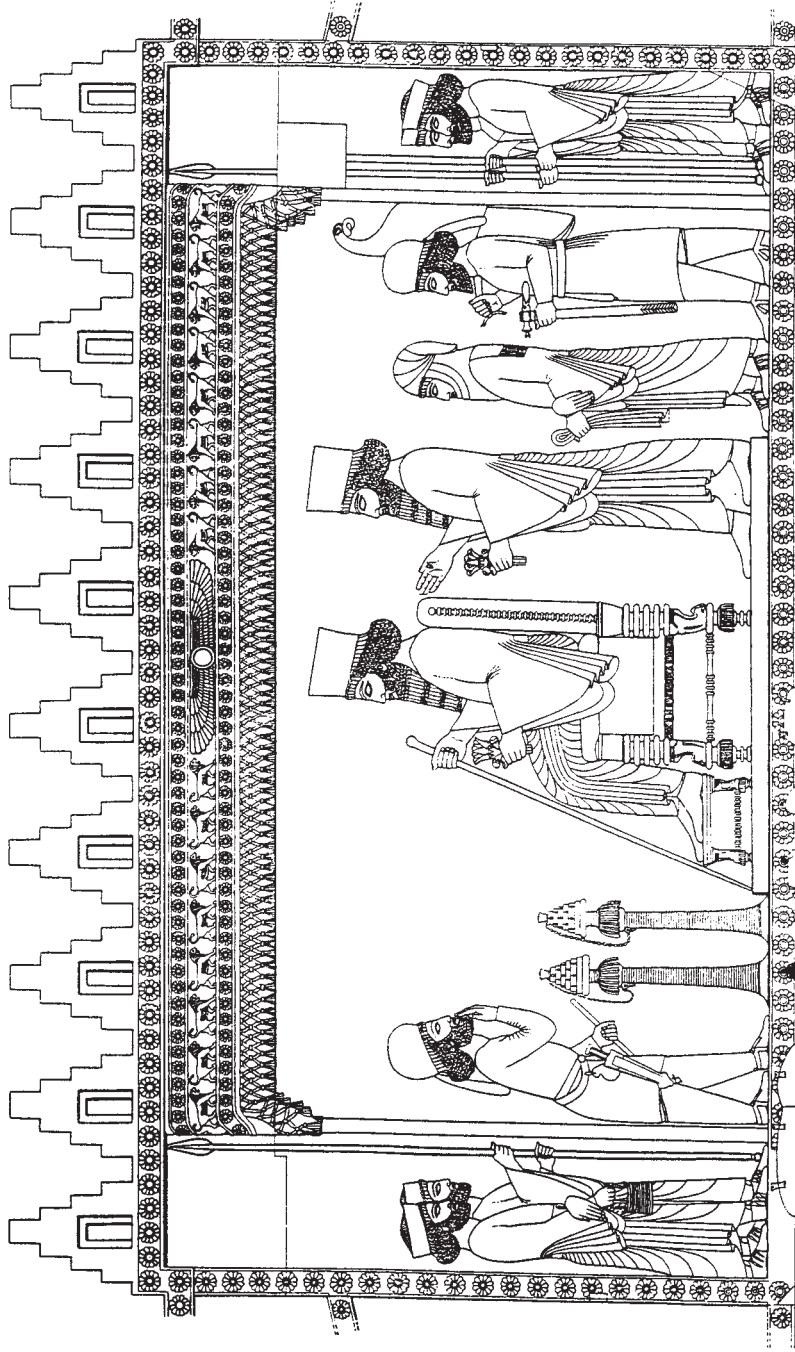


Abb. 3. Sog. Schatzhausrelief, das einst im Zentrum der Treppenanlage auf der Ostseite des Apadana angebracht war (Zeichnung G. Tilia)

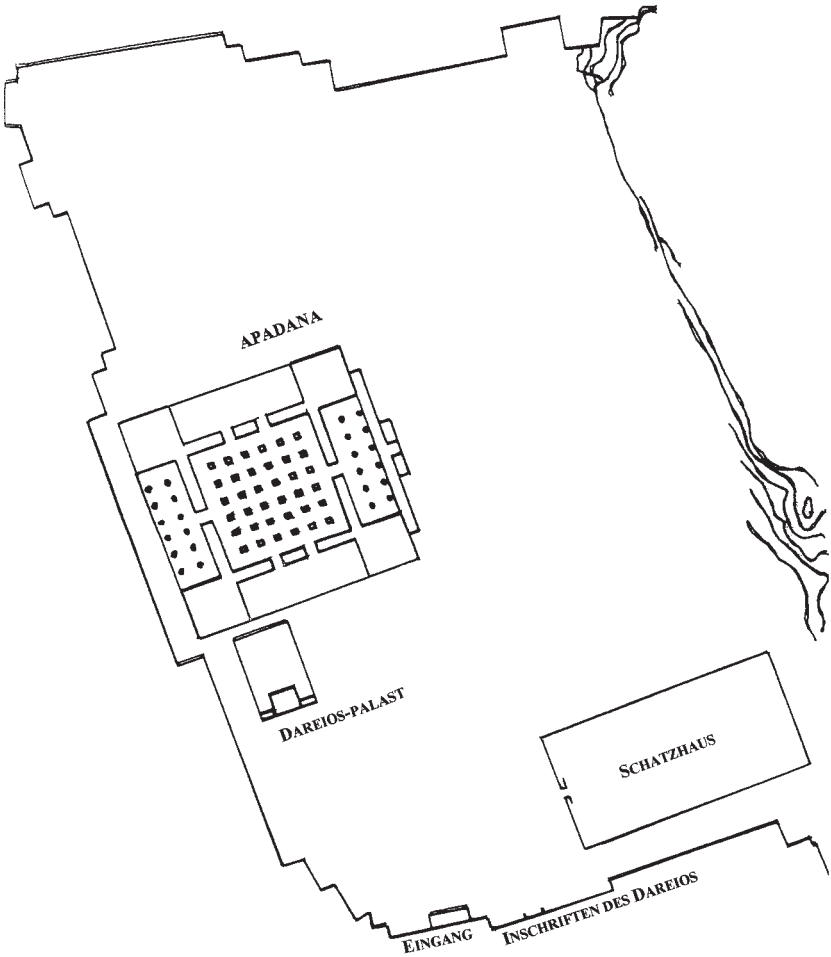


Abb. 4 Der Plan des Dareios

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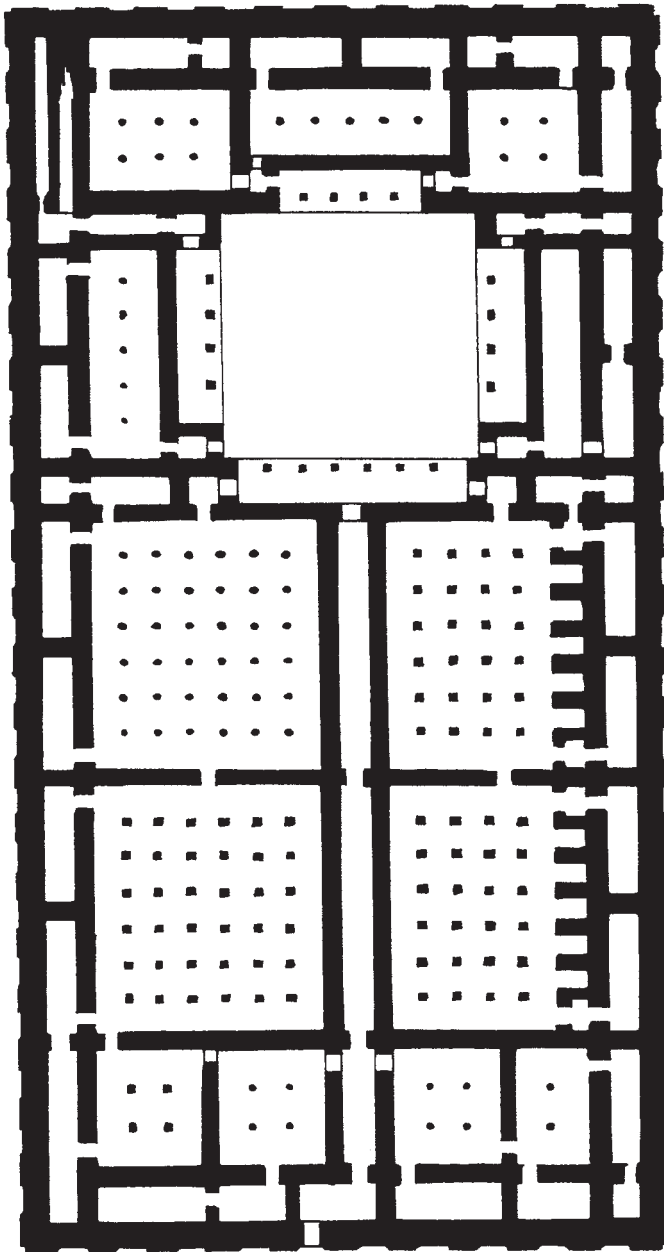


Abb. 5 Die 1. Phase des Schatzhauses in Persepolis

wurden wohl in den Sälen rechts und links des langen Korridors deponiert. In den südlichen Räumen waren in den Nischen Regale angebracht. In diese Lagerräume konnte man nur entweder durch das Zimmer der Beamten im nördlichen Teil oder vom zentralen Hof her durch je einen, offenbar noch besonders bewachten, Eingang gelangen. Überhaupt werden nur wenige Besucher bis zu dem zentralen Hof vorgedrungen sein. Dafür mußte man schon ein besonderes Anliegen haben. Hier befanden sich sehr repräsentative Räumlichkeiten. Sicher war es ein überwältigender Eindruck, wenn man nach Durchschreiten des langen Korridors in den lichterfüllten, großen offenen Hof hinaustrat, der mit leuchtenden Farben und goldenem Zierrat blinkte und blitzte. Vier Portiken umgaben diesen Hof. Dem Zugang genau gegenüber liegen drei besonders hervorgehobene Räume. Der größte auf der linken Seite hat eine Grundfläche von fast 140 m², seine Decke wird von sechs Säulen gestützt. In diesen Saal gelangt man wiederum nur durch einen kleinen Vorraum. Von diesem aus kann man auch das mittlere, langgestreckte Zimmer erreichen. Ein eigener kleiner Vorraum führt zu den Räumlichkeiten im Süden. Man könnte sich vorstellen, daß hier die obersten Beamten der achämenidischen Verwaltung ihren Sitz hatten. Der Hofmarschall hat vielleicht in dem großen Saal im Norden residiert, der Vizemarschall im Süden, und zwischen beiden könnte sich die Hofkanzlei befunden haben. Auffällig ist, daß es von allen diesen Räumen einen Zugang in schmale, langgestreckte Nebenräume gibt, die vermutlich als Archive dienten.

Eine entsprechende Gliederung der Verwaltung, wie sie für das Kernland deutlich geworden ist, kann auch für die Satrapien vorausgesetzt werden, nur daß dort anstelle des Hof- und des Vizemarschalls der Satrap und sein Stellvertreter die entsprechenden Aufgaben erfüllten. Eine ganze Reihe von ihnen ist namentlich auf Reisebelegen genannt, die sich im Verwaltungsarchiv in Persepolis erhalten haben. Daß auch weitere Posten, wie Schatzmeister und Steuerbeamte, in den Satrapien genauso wie im Kernland mit vergleichbaren Funktionen vorhanden waren, können beispielsweise die aramäischen Inschriften auf Stößeln und Mörsern zeigen, die im Schatzhaus von Persepolis gefunden worden sind. Ganze Sets von diesen aus grünem Kieselschiefer gefertigten Gefäßen, die für den Haumakult bestimmt waren, sind aus Arachosien als Abgaben nach Persepolis geliefert worden. Insgesamt haben sich 269 Stücke erhalten, datiert sind sie ab 479 v.Chr.⁴

Doch nicht nur die Struktur der Verwaltung war in den Satrapien vergleichbar, sondern auch in der Anlage der Gebäude richtete man sich offenbar

⁴ Hinz 1975.

in den Satrapien nach den Vorbildern in der Hauptstadt. Als Beispiel möchte ich einen Bau aus dem Nordosten des Achämenidenreiches anführen, nämlich aus Takht-e Sangin, der »steinernen Festung«. Dieses ist eine mächtige Zitadelle mit einem Areal von 200 x 250 m Grundfläche, von einer 2 m breiten und bis zu 6 m Höhe erhaltenen Befestigungsmauer umgeben, und liegt genau am Zusammenfluß von Wakhsch und Pjandsch, die dann gemeinsam den Oxus-Strom bilden (Abb. 6). Dort hat ein russisches Archäologenteam seit 1975 Ausgrabungen durchgeführt. Sie haben sich konzentriert auf ein zentrales Gebäude, das von I.R. Pitschikjan publiziert worden ist⁵. Dieses monumentale Gebäude ist aus 3 m dicken Wänden aus ungebrannten Lehmziegeln errichtet und bis zu einer Höhe von 5 m erhalten (Abb. 7). Der 144 m² große Hauptraum war sorgfältig weiß verputzt, der Fußboden mit weißem Alabaster belegt. Vier Säulen trugen die Decke. Im Norden und Süden führt je eine Tür in einen schmalen Raum, der rechtwinklig abknickt. Die Portikus im Osten öffnet sich zu einem großen Hof hin. Sie ist mit zwei Reihen von je vier Säulen ganz besonders prächtig ausgestattet. Das Gebäude war offenbar über mehrere Jahrhunderte hin in Benutzung und ist mehrfach verändert worden. Pitschikjan scheidet in seiner Publikation die einzelnen Bauphasen nicht, doch kann man verschiedene Veränderungen bereits an seiner Grundriß-Skizze erkennen. So haben beispielsweise spätere Umbauten die vordere Säulenreihe der Portikus überdeckt.

Pitschikjan datiert die Errichtung des Gebäudes E. 4./ A. 3. Jh. v.Chr. Als Anhaltspunkt für eine solche Datierung dient ihm ein einzelnes ionisches Kapitell, das in einem der Nebenräume gefunden worden ist. Dort war es zusammen mit weiteren Spolien, die aus anderen Gebäuden stammen müssen, in der Raummitte zu einer unregelmäßigen Erhebung aufgemauert. Nichts spricht dafür, daß dieses Kapitell überhaupt zu dem Bau gehört hat.

Sowohl im zentralen Saal wie auch in der Portikus haben sich dagegen in situ Säulenbasen erhalten, wulstige Tori auf einer gestuften, quadratischen Plinthe. Zu ihnen würde das ionische Kapitell gar nicht passen, denn sie zeigen typisch achämenidische Form. Vergleichen — auch in den Proportionen — lassen sich beispielsweise Tori eines palastartigen Gebäudes in der Ebene von Persepolis, dem sog. Dasht-e Gohar.⁶ Die straff gerundeten Formen der Tori in Takht-e Sangin legen eine Datierung in das 5. Jh. v.Chr. nahe. Von Säulen sind keinerlei Reste gefunden worden. Da die Oberseite der Basen ganz glatt ist, sich keine Spuren einer Anathyrose oder von Dübeln

⁵ Pitschikjan 1992; s. a. die Rezension dazu: Koch 1995; s.a. Koch 1993b.

⁶ Tilia 1978, Abb. III. fig. 4a.

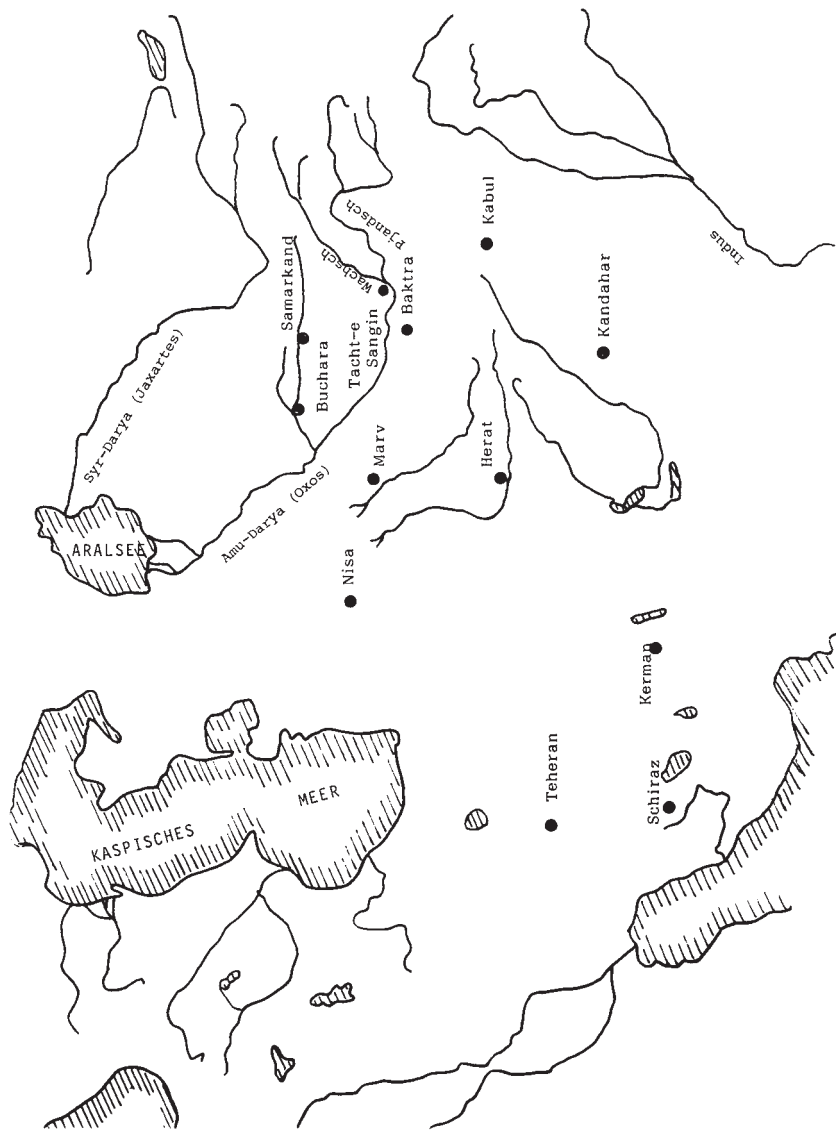


Abb. 6 Zentrale und östliche Gebiete des Achämenidenreichs

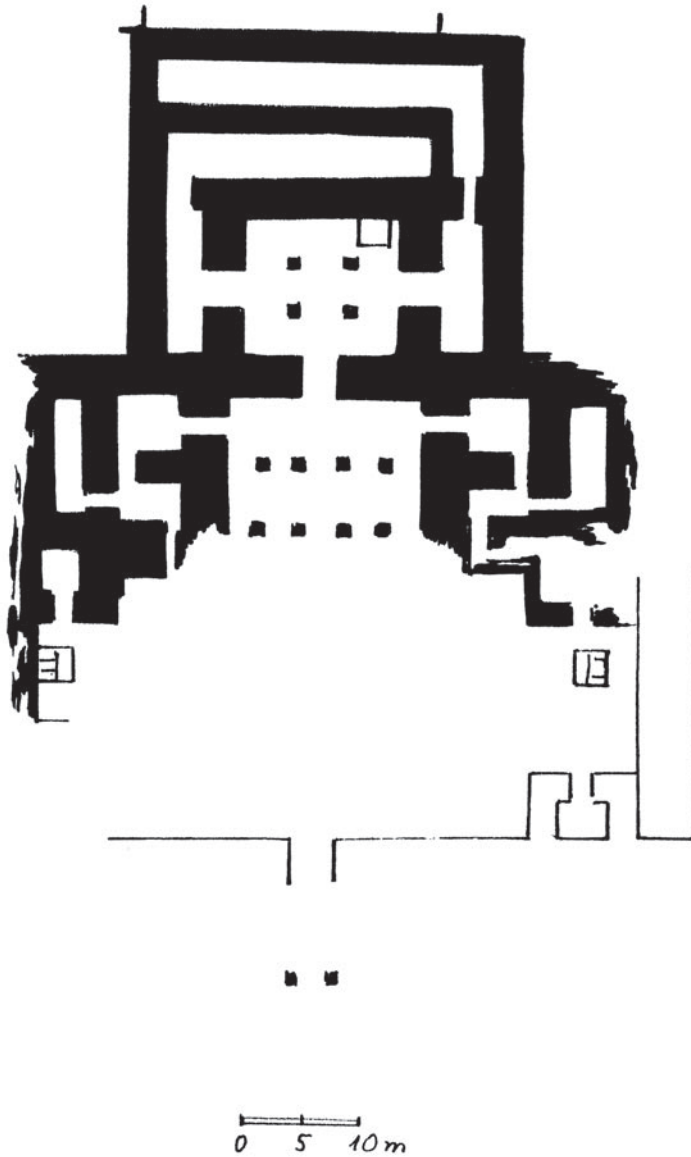


Abb. 7 Das Gebäude in Takht-e Sangin

finden, werden Holzsäulen auf ihnen gestanden haben. Reste von solchen sind im Schatzhaus in Persepolis gefunden worden, so daß ihr Aussehen rekonstruiert werden konnte. Um einen hölzernen Kern waren Zweige gewunden und diese dann mit Lehm verputzt worden. Die weiß gestrichene Oberfläche zeigte Muster in kräftigen Blau- und Rottönen. Ähnlich werden wir uns auch die Säulen in Takht-e Sangin vorstellen dürfen.

Das Gebäude in Takht-e Sangin ist im Laufe seiner Geschichte mehrfach geplündert worden. Dennoch konnten die Ausgräber noch einige kostbare Reste bergen. Sie erinnern in ihrem Stil und ihrer Zusammenstellung an Stücke, die zu dem berühmten Oxos-Schatz gehören, der heute zum größten Teil im British Museum in London verwahrt wird. Beispielsweise findet sich eine Reihe von dünnen, goldenen Weiheplättchen sowohl im Oxos-Schatz wie auch in Takht-e Sangin. Das Beispiel aus Takht-e Sangin ist zudem mit Einlagen in Paste und Karneol verziert.⁷ Prunkstück der Funde ist eine Akinakes-Scheide aus Elfenbein (Abb. 8), die an typisch achämenidische Formen erinnert, wie etwa das Schwert des Großkönigs Dareios an den Apadana-Treppen. Pitschikjan kann wahrscheinlich machen, daß der sog. Oxos-Schatz vermutlich aus Takht-e Sangin oder seiner unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft stammen wird.

Unter den Fundstücken ist auch eine kleine Kalksteinbasis mit einem Doppelflöte blasenden Satyr in Bronze (Abb. 9), alles zusammen 15,8 cm hoch. Auf ihr findet sich eine grobe Inschrift:

Ευχην	»Aufgrund eines Gelübdes
ἀνέθηκεν	stellte es auf
Ἀτροσωκης	Atrosokes
Οξωι	dem Oxos«.

Dieses Figürchen ist für Pitschikjan eines der Hauptargumente, daß es sich bei dem Gebäude in Takht-e Sangin um einen »Feuertempel für den Gott Oxos« handeln müsse. Nun sind zwar in den Verwaltungstäfelchen aus Persepolis mehrfach Opfer für Flußgötter belegt, doch einen Feuertempel dürften diese Götter nie besessen haben. Ein solcher ist, wie wir aus späteren Zeiten wissen, den *yazatas* vorbehalten, in erster Linie Asha, dem yazata für Recht und Ordnung⁸. Auch im Schatzhaus von Persepolis sind beispielsweise die Gefäße für den Haumakult oder eine elamische Opferverpflichtungstafel gefunden worden. Dennoch wird niemand auf den Gedanken kommen, in dem Schatzhaus einen zoroastrischen Tempel oder einen Tempel für elamische Gottheiten sehen zu wollen.

⁷ Pitschikjan 1992 (s. o. Anm. 5), p. 143, Abb. 17.

⁸ Weitere yazatas wären Bahram, Mihr, Anahid, Tir, Ashtad und Srosh.



Abb. 8 Scheide eines Kurzschwertes (Akinakes) aus Takht-e Sangin



Abb. 9 Bronzefigürchen auf Kalksteinbasis mit griechischer Inschrift

Die Form des Gebäudes in Takht-e Sangin kann bei der Bestimmung der Funktion nicht weiterhelfen. Denn bisher kennen wir keinen einzigen achämenidischen Tempel. Mit relativer Sicherheit können wir erst in sasanidischer Zeit Feuertempel benennen, und die sehen dann ganz anders aus.

Gewisse Gemeinsamkeiten scheint es indessen zwischen dem Gebäude in Takht-e Sangin und den bereits betrachteten repräsentativen Räumen im Schatzhaus von Persepolis zu geben. In der Größe entspricht der zentrale Raum in Takht-e Sangin dem nördlichen Eckraum (144 und 140 m²). Im Grundriß ähnlich ist der südliche Eckraum mit seinen vier Säulen und den im Winkel um ihn gelegten schmalen Räumen. Gleich sind die gut 3 m dicken Wände, die alles umgeben. In Persepolis haben die hervorgehobenen Räume eine gemeinsame Portikus. In Takht-e Sangin gibt es nur einen zentralen Raum, und der ist mit einer besonders aufwendigen Portikus versehen worden. Auch sie öffnete sich zu einem Hof hin, wie Reste von weiteren, noch nicht ausgegrabenen Gebäuden zeigen. In Persepolis haben wir die zentrale Verwaltungsstelle des Reiches vor uns, in Takht-e Sangin könnte es sich um eine Zweigstelle in einer entfernten Provinz gehandelt haben. Vergleichbare Grundrißformen lassen sich noch späterhin bei parthischen Palast- und Verwaltungsgebäuden nachweisen.

Ein weiteres wichtiges Indiz bei der Bestimmung des Gebäudes in Takht-e Sangin ist für Pitschikjan ein Ring, der zum Oxos-Schatz gehörte. Sein geschnittener Stein zeigt einen menschenköpfigen, bärtigen Stier mit Flügeln, der nach links schreitet (Abb. 10). Über ihm ist eine aramäische Inschrift angebracht, vor ihm ein Zeichen, das wie der obere Teil eines Heroldsstabes aussieht. Die Inschrift ist als »Wakhschu« gelesen worden, und Pitschikjan möchte dieses mit »für den Gott Oxos« übersetzen und hält es für einen weiteren Beweis einer Weihung für diesen Flußgott. Doch kommt die gleiche Buchstabenfolge auf einer Goldmünze vor, die aus der gleichen Gegend stammen wird und vielleicht sogar zum Oxos-Schatz gehörte (Abb. 11). Auf einer Münze wird man kaum eine Weihung für einen Gott Oxos erwarten, im Vergleich mit anderen Münzen ist vielmehr eine Ortsangabe anzunehmen. Wakhschu ist die iranische Namensform für den Fluß, der im Griechischen Oxos heißt und der ja genau unterhalb der Festung Takht-e Sangin durch den Zusammenfluß der beiden Ströme Wakhsch und Pjandsch entsteht. Ort und Fluß hatten also wohl den gleichen Namen. Ptolemaios berichtet beispielsweise von einer Stadt Oxeiana am Oxos.

Die Inschrift neben dem Porträt der Vorderseite ist von mir Friyapad gelesen worden.⁹ Dieser war laut Arrian der Vater des Arsakes, des Begründers

⁹ Koch 1993a, p. 167.



Abb. 10 Ring aus dem Oxos-Schatz

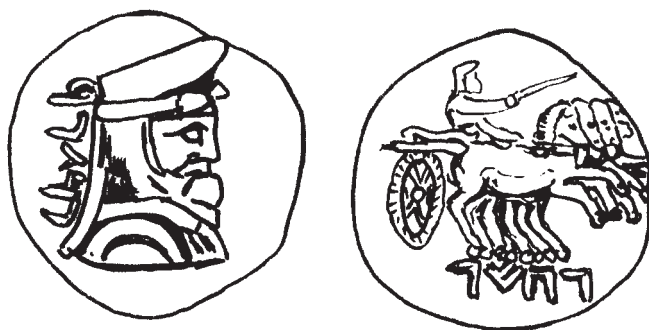


Abb. 11 Goldmünze aus der Gegend von Takht-e Sangin

der parthischen Arsakidendynastie. Hier hätten wir also erstmals einen Beweis für seine historische Existenz. Und gleichzeitig haben wir einen Anhaltspunkt für die Herkunft dieses Geschlechtes, die so lange im dunkeln gelegen hat. Münze und Ring stammen aus Wakhshu, das Sitz des Arsakidengeschlechtes und vordem schon achämenidische Verwaltungszentrale gewesen sein dürfte. Das Zeichen auf dem Ring begegnet noch auf einer Reihe von Münzen, die sich durch ein eigenes Gewichtssystem zusammenschließen und, wie R. B. Whitehead aufgezeigt hat, aus der Oxos-Region, westlich und nördlich von Baktrien kommen müssen. Dieses gibt einen Hinweis darauf, daß der Ring in der Verwaltung dieses Gebietes eingesetzt worden ist. Aufgrund stilistischer Vergleiche würde man ihn in das 5. Jh. v.Chr. datieren, also in dieselbe Zeit, in die auch die Säulenbasen des Gebäudes in Takht-e Sangin wiesen.

Vergleichbare Siegelringe, ebenfalls mit eigenen Zeichen, sind auch im Westen des Achämenidenreiches, in der Satrapie Lydien, gefunden worden. Wir können also auch hier annehmen, daß die Besitzer dieser Ringe in der achämenidischen Verwaltung tätig waren, zumal solche Zeichen auch im

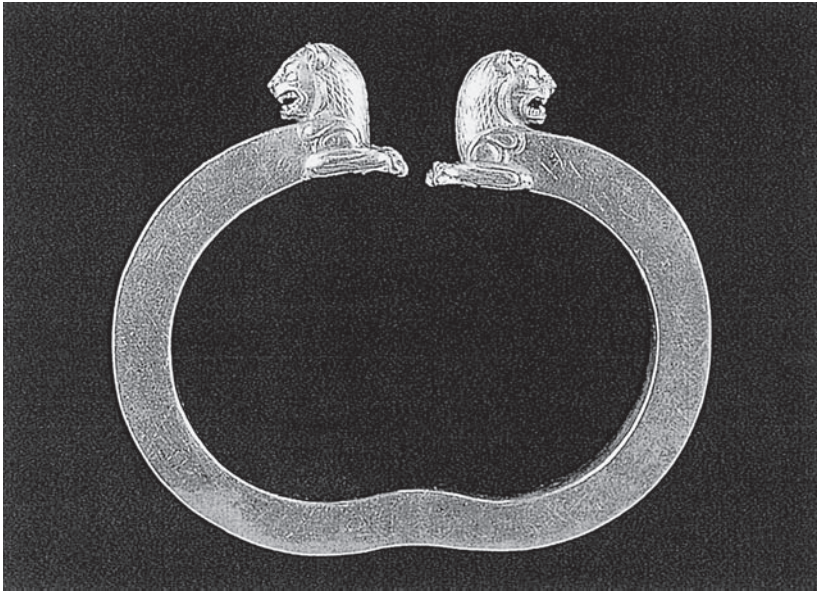


Abb. 12 Armreif aus der Satrapie Lydien

Zentrum Persepolis selbst auf den Siegeln höherer Beamter der Verwaltung vorkommen. Leider sind die zahlreichen und äußerst interessanten Siegelabdrücke der Verwaltungstäfelchen noch immer nicht publiziert worden.

Die Funde aus den Gräbern der Satrapie Lydien stammen zu einem großen Teil aus Raubgrabungen, so daß sich der genaue Zusammenhang und geschlossene Grabinventare kaum noch fassen lassen. Zu den reichen Beigaben gehört neben Gerätschaften, die rein achämenidische Formen zeigen, auch eine Fülle an erlesenem Schmuck. Als Beispiel möchte ich nur ein Paar goldener Armreifen herausgreifen. Sie haben die in achämenidischer Zeit verbreitete Nierenform und enden in Löwenprotomen (Abb. 12). Die Außenseite zeigt eine umlaufende, rechtwinklige Vertiefung, die einst mit farbigem Material gefüllt war, vermutlich mit Glaspaste. Glas wurde auch für gesamte Armreifen verwendet, wie ein weiteres Paar Armreifen, ebenfalls aus dem lydischen Bereich, zeigen kann. Das leuchtende Blau steht in hübschem Kontrast zu den goldenen Löwenköpfen. Ähnlich muß man sich auch die Wirkung bei den eingelegten Beispielen vorstellen. Anschließen lassen sich auch die beiden in Wani gefundenen Armreifen mit Löwen- und Kälbchenköpfen (Abb. 13). Charakteristisch für alle diese Beispiele mit umlaufenden Einlagen ist ihre seitlich abgeflachte Form. Diese Form zeigt auch deutlich das Armreifenpaar, das von der lydischen Delegation auf den

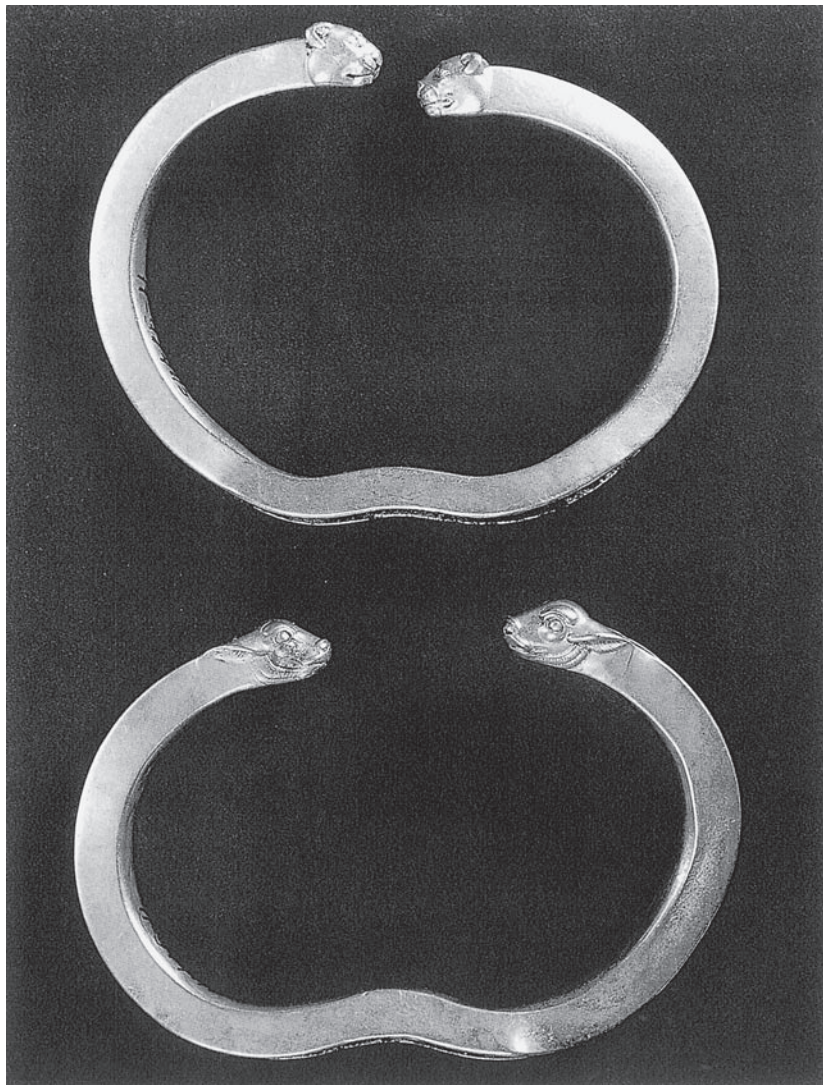


Abb. 13 Armreifen aus Wani



Abb. 14 Armreif, den die lydische Delegation in Persepolis als Geschenk bringt

Reliefs der Apadana-Treppen in Persepolis herbeigebracht wird (Abb. 14). Dagegen sind die Armreifen, die beispielsweise die spitzmützigen Saken herbeibringen, gerundet. Können wir daraus schließen, daß die flache Form mit Einlagen in Glaspaste für Lydien typisch ist, die Armreifen aus Wani also von dorthier ihre Vorbilder genommen haben? Jedenfalls sehen wir in dem riesigen Achämenidenreich immer wieder Beziehungen der einzelnen Provinzen zueinander und sogar Gemeinsamkeiten, die überall zu finden sind, mag es sich um Produkte des Kunsthandwerks oder Systeme der Verwaltung handeln.

Wie eng Georgien in dieses Reich eingebunden war, ob sich auch hier ein achämenidischer Verwaltungssitz befand, läßt sich bisher nicht sagen. Allerdings ist dieses sehr wahrscheinlich. Kennen wir doch aus sasanidischer Zeit z.B. den Satrapen Papak von Georgien (Silberschale von Armazi), der unter Bahram II., wohl um 292, sogar zum »Vizekönig (bidyahsh) von Iran« ernannt wurde, also zum zweitmächtigsten Mann im ganzen Reich.¹⁰ Dieses spricht für die Bedeutung Georgiens, und ähnlich können wir uns die Verhältnisse auch im Achämenidenreich vorstellen. In unmittelbarer Nähe, nämlich in Armenien, haben sich sogar Hinweise gefunden, die die

¹⁰ Hinz 1969, p. 206.

Bedeutung dieser nördlichen Grenzgebiete erahnen und uns in ganz erstaunlicher Weise einen Eindruck von der achämenidischen Verwaltung dort gewinnen lassen.

Bei Grabungen in der urartäischen Festung Armavir-blur sind Fragmente dreier elamischer Tontäfelchen gefunden worden, die 1990 von I.M. Diakonoff und N.B. Jankowska publiziert und als elamische Variante des Gilgamesh-Epos aus dem 8./7. Jh. gedeutet worden sind.¹¹ Das wäre in der Tat sensationell, da wir damit die ersten literarischen elamischen Texte hätten! Doch bei genauerer Betrachtung ergibt sich etwas ganz anderes. Schon das äußere Bild zeigt, daß diese Täfelchen nicht von derselben Hand geschrieben worden sind, also gar nicht zusammengehören und keinen fortlaufenden Text wiedergeben.¹² Das größte Fragment ist offenbar Rest eines Briefes. Er berichtet von Steuerabgaben und strengen Befragungen, um das Abgabensoll festzustellen. Das auf diese Weise eingenommene Getreide, das teilweise auch vom »Skythenland« gebracht worden ist, wurde teils als Trockenfutter für Schafe weitergegeben, teils als Vorrat aufbewahrt. Das zweite Täfelchen berichtet ebenfalls von Getreide, und zwar ist dieses dem Gouverneur unterstellt. Hier tritt der persische Titel *frataraka- auf, der bisher nur aus den aramäischen Briefen aus Ägypten bekannt war. Dort bezeichnet er einen Oberkommandierenden an der Südgrenze Ägyptens, der in seiner Rangordnung dem Satrapen zunächst stand. Das Täfelchen aus Armavir-blur zeigt nun, daß es auch sonst diesen Titel gab; vermutlich war es hier der höchste Beamte der nördlichen Grenzgebiete. Große Mengen an Getreide gingen bei ihm ein, der eine erhaltene Posten nennt allein 10.000 Liter. Wiederum wurde es teils deponiert, teils für Kleinvieh verwendet. Das am stärksten fragmentierte dritte Täfelchen berichtet von Getreide, das gemahlen werden sollte. Satzbau, Verbformen, Redewendungen und Inhalt dieser Täfelchen erinnern unmittelbar an die Täfelchen der achämenidischen Verwaltung in Persepolis. Auch die Form der Keilschriftzeichen hat dort ihre nächste Parallele. Sie werden also am Ende des 6. oder in der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v.Chr. geschrieben worden sein, denn um die Mitte des 5. Jhs. wurde die gesamte Verwaltung auf Reichsaramäisch umgestellt. In dieser Zeit gab es somit in Armavir-blur einen achämenidischen Verwaltungsposten und einen hochgestellten Oberkommandierenden, der nur noch den Satrapen über sich hatte. Am erstaunlichsten aber ist, daß in

¹¹ Diakonoff und Jankowska 1990, pp. 102–123.

¹² Koch 1993c, pp. 219–236. Das größte Fragment behandelt Vallat 1997 noch einmal gesondert; auf seine Deutung müßte noch einmal ausführlich eingegangen werden, da sich eine Reihe von Kritikpunkten ergeben.

dieser Provinzverwaltung Elamisch geschrieben wurde — genau wie im Zentrum des Reiches. Wie können wir uns das vorstellen? Waren elamische Beamte in sämtliche Verwaltungsstellen des Achämenidenreiches abgeordnet worden? Z.B. hat man auch ganz im Osten in Qandahar, der Hauptstadt der Satrapie Arachosien, elamische Verwaltungstäfelchen gefunden. Die auf den Tafelchen aus Armavir-blur auftretenden Namen klingen teils persisch, teils elamisch. Haben diese Beamten dann die Einheimischen in der schwierigen elamischen Sprache unterrichtet? Einige Besonderheiten weisen die Tafelchen aus Armavir-blur auf, beispielsweise fehlen Determinative, die sonst Personen- oder Ortsnamen kennzeichnen. Viele Fragen bleiben noch offen. Andererseits zeigen gerade diese Tafelchen aus Armavir-blur, wie fest die achämenidische Verwaltung auch entfernte Grenzgebiete in der Hand hatte und daß bei der Besetzung der Stellen kein Aufwand gescheut wurde.

Zum Schluß möchte ich der Hoffnung Ausdruck geben, daß dieser kurze Einblick in die achämenidische Verwaltung es vielleicht auch ermöglichen wird, archäologische Funde — auch in Georgien — in ihrem Zusammenhang zu erkennen und besser einordnen zu können.

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Chalcolithic Urn Burials at Pilot Höyük, Eastern Turkey: An Assessment

Engin AKDENİZ

Department of Archaeology
Faculty of Science and Literature
Adnan Menderes University
09010 Aydın
TURKEY

Fax: 90 256 213 53 79
E-mail: eakdeniz@adu.edu.tr

Abstract

Pilot Höyük is located north-east of Malatya, on the right bank of the Euphrates. It was excavated over seven campaigns (1978–1985) as a part of the Keban and Lower Euphrates (Karakaya Dam) salvage excavation project, conducted by a team directed by Özgen Karaca. In this paper, its Chalcolithic urn burials will be studied. Layers XIII and XIV at Pilot Höyük provide us with information about intra-mural burials that shed light on the burial customs of the Chalcolithic Age in Eastern Anatolia. The urns in which these burials were placed are handmade, large containers with or without handles that are similar to other domestic urns uncovered in the same layer.

The Pilot Höyük is situated approximately 33 km north-east of the city of Malatya¹, and before the construction of Karakaya Dam it was located in Pilot village (Kıyıcak, Kuyucak), which was a village of fifty houses subordinated to the central Kale district. However, today Pilot Höyük is completely submerged under Karakaya Dam Reservoir². The mound is

¹ In some publications Pilot Höyük's distance from Malatya is stated to be 42 km, though the actual distance is 33 km.

² Serdaroglu 1975, pl. 5, fig. 12,13,14

also referred to as 'İkiz Tepeler' ('Twin Mounds') by the local people, owing to its conjoint cone structure (Figs 1–3).

Among the several mounds in the region, Pırot Höyük attracted attention owing to its height (measuring approximately 25 m) and dimensions (measuring east-west 145 m x 95 m). Its elevation is 663.34 m. above sea level. Von der Osten during his explorations in 1927–28 made the first preliminary investigation, but K. Kökten in 1947 first carried out serious research on the mound, and Meriggi in 1962 further investigated the site. Later, Ü. Serdaroglu in 1975 and then M. Özdoğan in 1977 both executed surveys.³ The excavations proper, conducted by a team directed by Özgen Karaca, continued for seven excavation seasons between 1978–1985, although no excavations were carried out in 1979.⁴ The project at Pırot Höyük, a rescue mission, constituted a part of the 'Project of Saving the Ancient Monuments in Keban and Lower Euphrates (Karakaya)', to date the most comprehensive archaeology project realised in the Turkish Republic. The excavations revealed fifteen layers in the mound, numbered from I (top-most) to the last layer, XV, while layers II and III were divided into two intervening phases. This system therefore distinguished settlements from the Middle/Late Chalcolithic period to the Middle Ages (Late Byzantine times).

Although some burials found during the course of the Pırot Höyük excavations, thought to belong to the burial ground used by the inhabitants, could not be dated to a precise period, nevertheless it is understood that these burials belong at least to a period after the Early Bronze Age.⁵ However, all the burials discovered and examined below belong to the Chalcolithic Age. Layers XIII and XIV at Pırot Höyük provide us with information about intramural burials that resemble the burial customs of the Chalcolithic Age in eastern Anatolia. The excavations unearthed several urn burials in these layers in 1984–85, but only six of these burials were uncovered completely and then after restoration placed in Malatya Museum. Four of these interments belong to Layer XIII, whereas two belong to Layer XIV. Besides the burials themselves, there was in one grave a bowl, stated in the excavation reports to have been used as urn cover.

³ Özdoğan 1977, p. 21, 47.

⁴ I would like to thank Özgen Karaca, the former Director of Culture at Aydın, for his help in every step of our study and for the imprimatur of the material. I also deeply grateful to Prof. A. Çilingiroğlu for his assistance.

⁵ Since the beginning of excavations, the location of the burial place has been a subject of research. Following information provided by villagers, an area 2 x 1.52 m was opened in a narrow street in the Tepeköy quarter of the mound. Four cremation vessels containing ashes and burned bones were found very close to the surface. See Karaca 1983, p. 73, 74.

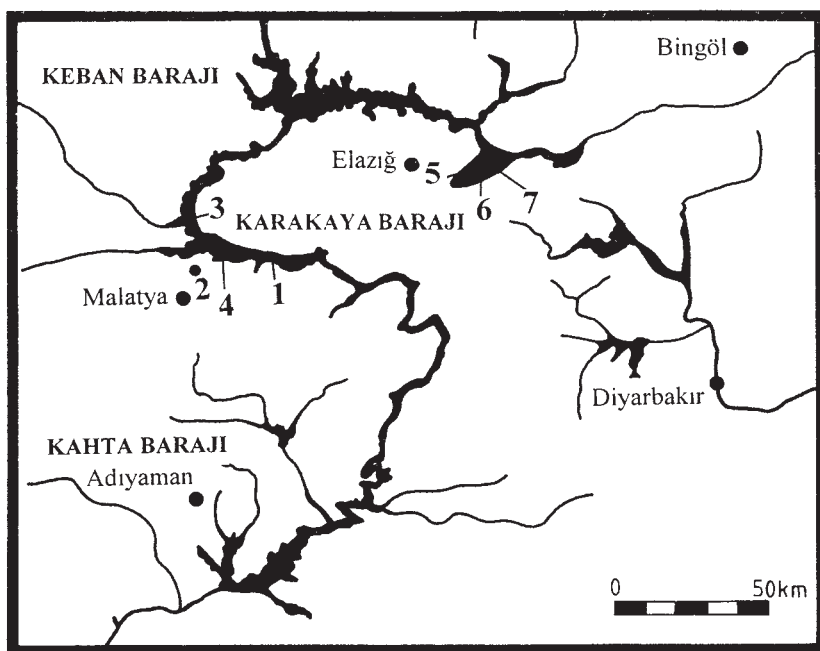


Fig. 1 Location of Pirot Höyük and other sites mentioned in the text.

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Pirot Höyük | 2. Arslantepe |
| 3. İmikuşığı | 4. Değirmen-tepe |
| 5. Tepecik | 6. Norşuntepe |
| 7. Korucutepe | |

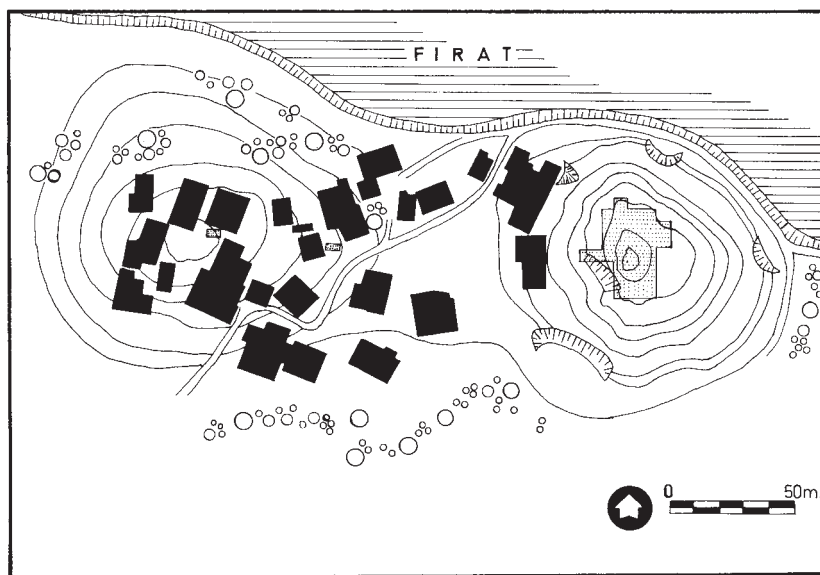


Fig. 2 Topographic plan of Pirot Höyük



Fig. 3 Pırot Höyük from west

The Burials

Layer XIII

The settlement belonging to Layer XIII at Pirot Höyük was discovered in areas C9, B10, C10 and B11. These layers were first found in 1984, and then excavations continued through 1985. The architectural remains of Layer XIII reveal that it was a typical Chalcolithic settlement. Mud brick walls were constructed on a single course of stone, while further stones were placed in front of the walls in order to prevent slipping. Evidence remains to indicate that the bottom was also paved with mud bricks. The structures extend in the east-west direction and are separated into sections by means of other walls built in the north-south direction. Although some evidence indicated that a fire destroyed Layer XIII, final proof was lacking.

In this layer remains emerged belonging to two different structures stretching in the east-west direction in the areas of plans B10 and B11 (Fig. 4). The first of these structures occupies a great part of area B11 and a small part of B10. The northwest of area B11 was destroyed. Two main walls of the east-west structure were divided into three sections by two walls approximately in the northwest-southeast direction.

In the middle of the rightmost larger section a big hearth was exposed, about 2 m in diameter, at -9.21 m (Fig. 5). This hearth, its bottom paved with pottery sherds, was strengthened externally with mud brick. Meanwhile, the pottery sherds, placed there possibly to prevent heat loss, were collected into three boxes, accounting thereby for a difference in level of 5 to 7 cm. Three adjacent grain bins (*petek*) were associated with a very soft area of circular plan in the northwest of the hearth, lying immediately in front of the trench line in the south of the hearth and the wall parallel to it. The rightmost grain-bin is at a level of -9.15 m, while the other two are at -9.04 m. The first two grain bins, from left to right, were completely uncovered, while the third grain bin on the right extended into plan C11. Although traces of a short support wall between the grain bins and the hearth were distinguished, it was not possible to bring to light the exact situation. Quite possibly this area was used as a cellar or part of a kitchen: wheat and other semolina-like foods were found in and around the grain bins; eight grinding stones were also found around the hearth. However, in order to reach the lower layers in the 1985 excavations this hearth and the grain bins detected in the excavations of 1984 were removed. In this connection note that the second section of the structure on the left is much



Fig. 4 View of trench B10 and B11



Fig. 5 Hearth surrounded by *in situ* objects

narrower compared to the first one: the northern part of this second section and most parts of the third section on its left were destroyed.

The second structure in Layer XIII, also stretching in the east-west direction, has a wavy main upper wall, almost like a casemate, in that partition walls occur in the north-south direction under each casemate. A thicker wall, orientated east-west, to the south, most probably constituted the southern wall of the structure, although some parts of both the east-west and north-south walls of the structure were damaged. Inside the middle section, approximately in the northwest, a roughly horseshoe-shaped hearth was discovered. However, at this level other less distinctive kilns and hearths were also uncovered, and like the other structure, the bottom of the hearth was also covered with pottery pieces, while remains of wheat, and four grinding stones were also found around the hearth. Evidence led to the conclusion that this hearth was damaged in the period it was used.

The excavations carried out in Layer XIII provide us with not only architectural information, but also with detailed information concerning burial customs. Besides the Chalcolithic burials found in the structure of B11 and B10, urn burials were discovered also in the other (second) structure to the south in C10.

Six to seven urn burials were uncovered in Layer XIII (Fig. 6). However, four urn burials belonging to Layer XIII were reported in 1984 in the inventory records, apparently obtained in bits and pieces. The burials usually intersect with the western and southwestern parts of plan B11 and the south-eastern parts of plan B10. The 1984 work, which had been mentioned to be in connection with C9 in the inventory records, was discovered to be in B10. Therefore, two burials belong to B10 and two other burials belong to B11.

- (a) One burial consists of an round-bodied urn with a pair of lug handles (Fig. 6a) and a bowl (Fig. 6b) evidently used as its lid, or simply left as a gift. They were uncovered at the bottom of a wall in the west of the large section situated in the middle of plan B11.
- (b) Another was discovered in the leftmost section of the first structure and it consisted of a double-handled pot (Fig. 8a). No burials were found in the other structure, which is thought to be a cellar or a kitchen.
- (c) A third burial was uncovered in the middle of the second structure in the south and within it was a rounded pot (Fig. 8b).
- (d) A similar vessel was uncovered in its eastern part (Fig. 13).

It is recorded in the excavation reports that the burials were placed inside a mud brick matrix, but since these were burials mostly placed under floor, it is likely that this matrix, in fact, constituted the floor itself. Fragments of

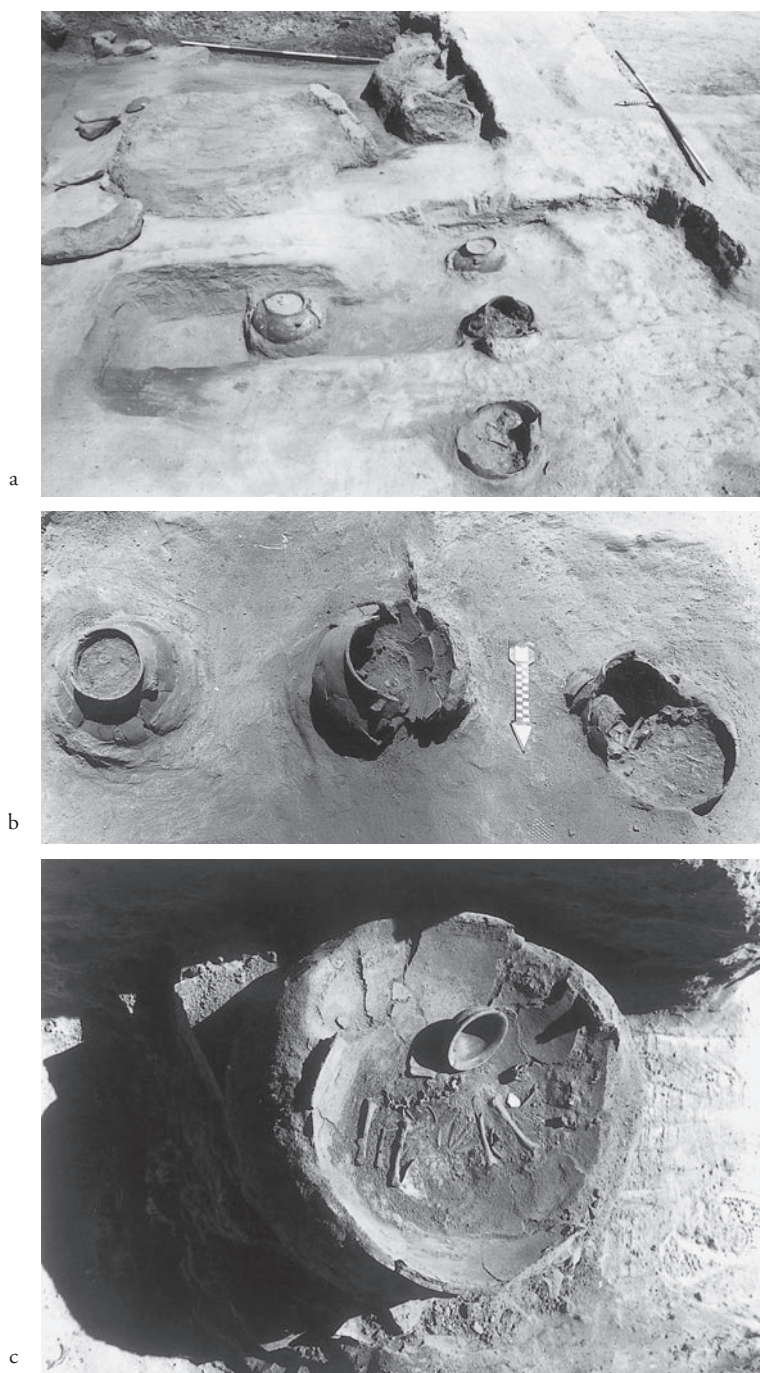


Fig. 6 Layer XIII, the urn burials

pottery supported the urns themselves and their mouths were most likely wrapped with a piece of cloth or leather. Urns without a solid stopper might be peculiar only to this layer or coincidentally only to these burials, since samples of urns with lids were found in Layer XIV. The containers used for urn burials are large, hand-made urns with a slightly flattened bottom and either with or without a handle. These urns, laid in the earth in a vertical position, had associated with them besides skeletal remains, pieces of animal bones, teeth and pottery. The remains, reminiscent of grain foods found inside the urns, might have been left as burial gifts, although no other gifts were discovered. However, the bowl (Fig. 7b) found in Burial 1 might be a burial gift or a lid for the burial.

Besides these burials, infant burials resembling the ones uncovered in quadrates B10 and B11 were found in E16, Layer XIII. Nonetheless, necessary reports about these burials were not kept and the urns were not restored.

Layer XIV

Urn burials were also uncovered in Layer XIV. Stone foundations were very rarely used in this layer; mud brick walls were utilized instead. A significant, nearly rectangular hearth was unearthed in B10 and B11. This hearth, on the northern side of the opening in B11, was included in a section in the southern part with stone-founded walls, and a kiln situated at the centre of the opening. In the first excavation reports, the hearth was thought to belong to Layer XIII, but a re-examination of its context shows otherwise.

Although a skeleton with probably a rush cover was discovered in the upper part of the hearth (9.85 m), only the head part could be uncovered due to the damage, hence sufficient information about this burial could not be obtained. Also in the same layer, burials of children were found under the floor. Another anomaly was also cleared up: in the excavations carried out in 1985, two urn burials were unearthed belonging to Layer XIV. Since these were burials beneath the floor in Layer XIV, they were accidentally reported to belong to Layer XV in the excavation and inventory records.

The burial numbered 85-31, referred to as Burial 1 in the excavation reports, was situated vertically in plan B11 and leaned against the stone foundation of Layer XIV (Fig. 10). The burial itself, partly supported by stone, revealed one of the arms of the skeleton placed under its head, while the skeletal remains in general are consistent with a six-month to one-year old baby. Carbonized oil layer found on and under the oil layer could be



Fig. 7 Pirot Höyük XIII burial vessels (a) double-handled pot or urn;
(b) carinated bowl



Fig. 8 Pirot Höyük XIII burial pots (a) double-handled; (b) rounded



Fig. 9 Pirot Höyük burial vessels (a) globular pot, layer XIII
(b) hemispherical bowl, layer XIV

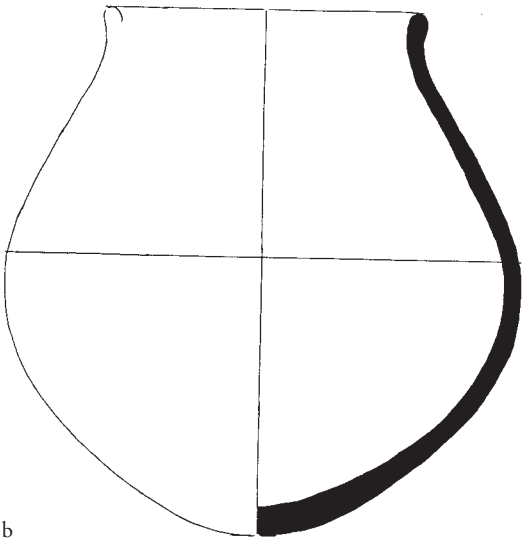


Fig. 10 Pirot Höyük XV round-bodied pots

either vegetable or animal oil, or could have belonged to the infant corpse, but a final determination remained elusive.

After this burial was removed, a second urn burial whose rim had been covered with a brick-coloured bowl was found approximately 1 m to the east of the burial, and labelled Burial 2 (Fig. 11). The feet of the infant skeleton had been first put into the urn, and then its knees twisted until the body fell on the ribs above the face as if it were pressed on the head. Its arms stretch to both sides. Partly carbonized semolina-like objects (perhaps flour or pounded wheat) were discovered inside this burial.

Discussion

Similar burials to those of Pirot Höyük mentioned above were also discovered within a wide area in the near (at Arslantepe, Değirmentepe, Korucutepe, Norşuntepe) and far surroundings (Kurban Höyük and Hassek Höyük) of the mound. However, by contrast these are all earthen burials, unlike the urn burials, which are the subject of this study. Infant and child burials occurred under floors, while adult burials were more prevalent in the western sections. Chalcolithic layers of Köşk Höyük include typical examples of these kinds of burials.⁶

Burials under the floor, containing corpses in the foetal position left as burial gifts, were found at Arslantepe VII, from the Uruk period according to the Mesopotamian chronology.⁷ Layer VIII dates back to the end of Ubaid period (4300–4000 BC).

Chalcolithic burials, were also discovered at Değirmentepe near Malatya, especially in the 7th layer dating to Ubaid period. These burials, almost all in the foetal position, were placed in urns or unbaked vessels called 'grain-bins' (*petek*) by the local people, and placed beneath the floors of the rooms, in the holes opened in the area referred to as the middle courtyard, or in the niches inside the walls⁸. The corpses belong mostly to infants or small children between newly-born to 14 years old, as in the Pirot Höyük examples.⁹ One skeleton is understood to belong to an adult, while a dog skeleton placed in one urn constitutes an interesting burial type.¹⁰ Research has even revealed that some of the infant corpses were aborted in the foetus

⁶ Silistreli 1985, p. 33–34; Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998 (Köşk Höyük).

⁷ Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998 (Arslantepe).

⁸ Esin 2000, p. 83.

⁹ Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998 (Değirmentepe).

¹⁰ Esin 2000, fig.5.

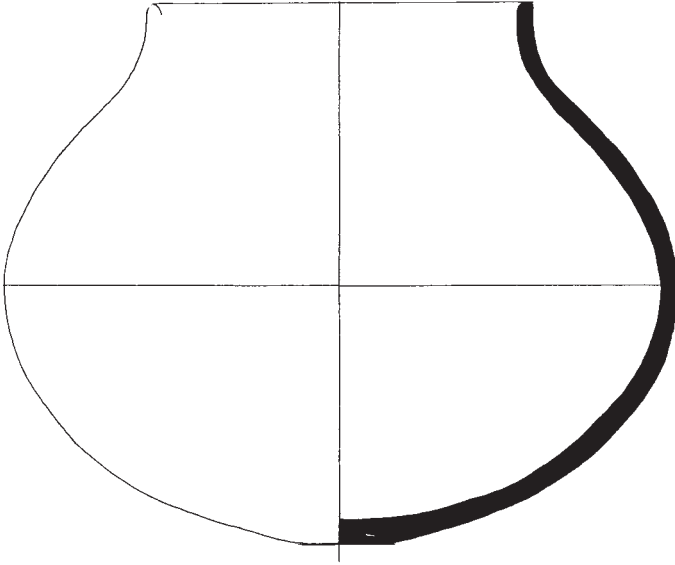


Fig. 11 Pirot Höyük XIV wide-bodied pots

stage, but the babies that died in the first six months constitute 64% of the babies in the 0–2.5 year age group. Researchers explain the high rate of infant deaths as due to unsuitable environmental conditions and insufficient mother care rather than from chronic diseases like hypoplasia, or bone inflammation seen in civilized settlements.¹¹ It is known that the newborns, and infants a few weeks old, whose immune system is not yet developed, are much more affected by such diseases.

Deformations in baby or children skulls, thought to have been made consciously by the parents, were detected in the skeletons uncovered in Değirmentepe where this effect, observed already in the burials of 3–4 months old babies, was also observed in the burials of 13–14 year old children. As far as can be deciphered from the marks in the skulls, the head was tightly wrapped in various directions, or a tight cap was used in some cases. Özbek states that the desired deformation can be made on the skull when this process is applied at a stage when the skull bones are too tiny and the ossification period has not yet been completed.¹² The deformation becomes permanent and the skull never regains its former shape when this process is applied until approximately 5 years of age. In view of other contemporary examples, Özbek further states that this application was practised on female babies, in this way providing the head with a thin–tall shape, a procedure based on a perceived aesthetic value. This type of application for shaping the head can also be seen in Kurban Höyük and Hatay Şeyh Höyük near Sanlı Urfa, and beyond our borders there are examples from Byblos, Khirakitia in Cyprus, Shanidar in Iran and Ganj Dareh Tepe. Some data, especially the research made on the skulls in Ganj Dareh Tepe dating back to the Neolithic Age, indicate that this custom relies rather on social class differences. Deformed skulls and skeletons were taken out of diligently made adobe burials in Ganj Dareh Tepe, while other skeletons were buried in random simple holes. At this point, the Mangbetu tribe in the African Congo attracts our attention, as they are stated to represent the last chain of this deformation custom. The daughters of upper class people in this tribe wore tight caps made of vegetable fibres, and thus their heads grew backwards.¹³ However, since no adult skeleton belonging to Chalcolithic period could be discovered in Değirmentepe, it is not possible to determine whether only female children were subjected to this practice; only that in

¹¹ Özbek 1986, p. 114.

¹² Özbek 1986, p. 115.

¹³ Özbek 1986, p. 116. Özbek affirms that this practice did not affect the brain mass and that the brain gained what it lost in one part by overdeveloping another part. Transformations may be observed in some angles and endices depending on the shape of the deformation.

view of the remains from other contemporary centres, it is thought to have been inclined towards female children.

A fill measuring 2 m in thickness, which was formed by the remains of consecutive structures in Chalcolithic phases, was found in Korucutepe. In this fill were three burials: two belonging to adults, and the remaining one to a child. In the first was uncovered a silver diadem, a crescent necklace, hair rings and hundreds of small lime stones, carnelian and bone belt beads, bracelets and bangles, which belonged to a female. The second burial found adjacent to the first was made in a similar way, but was a double burial. Artifacts accompanying the male burial included a mace head made of raw iron, a silver bracelet, and a copper dagger, while beside the female corpse, whose head was cut by a late dent, was found a silver bracelet seal ornamented with wild goat figure. The child burial placed in an urn did not include any gifts. The remains indicate that the northwestern part of the Mound was used as a burial ground in the final phases of the Late Chalcolithic Age.¹⁴

At Norşuntepe many basket and pit burials, all placed under the floor were uncovered in the 7th and 8th layers, belonging to the Late Chalcolithic period.¹⁵ First, three burials were found, in 1972, at the base of the 7th layer in quadrat J18. One of these belongs to a six-year old child, whose head points to the northeast direction;¹⁶ the second urn contained a body in a hocker position, on which were fragments of grain, and whose rim was covered with a large crock.¹⁷ The third skeleton was not aimed towards any certain direction, but its head was placed towards the east.¹⁸ In the following year, four burials belonging to the 7th layer were uncovered at J/K 17–18 in the drilling at the Western Slope. One of these four burials is a child skeleton in a foetal position,¹⁹ and the other one is again a child skeleton, inserted in the urn by rotating the body clockwise, and in which was a small bead made of white limestone left as a burial gift.²⁰ The other two burials found in 1973 lay within mud brick remains in the south of the endwise site in K19²¹. These include a 17 cm skeleton in an urn in hocker position, whose head faces the northeast direction, and another skeleton of

¹⁴ van Loon and Güterbock 1972a, p. 80; 1978, p. 10–11 pl. 3.; fig. 54/2, 55/1. Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998 (Korucutepe).

¹⁵ Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998 (Norşuntepe).

¹⁶ Hauptmann 1976, p. 54.

¹⁷ Hauptmann 1976, p. 54; pl. 42/1,2.

¹⁸ Hauptmann 1976, p. 54.

¹⁹ Hauptmann 1979, p. 55.

²⁰ Hauptmann 1979, p. 55; pl. 28/3.

²¹ Hauptmann 1979, p. 55.

38 cm placed on its back, also in hocker position. This last skeleton was not in an urn like the others, but in a basket, whose weave traces were detected in the excavation. Finally, in the 1974, five child burials were discovered in J19 and K18.²² The skeleton found in the 8th layer was placed in a basket just like the skeleton uncovered the previous year.²³ Additionally, one burial was found under the bottom of Room 7 and two burials were found under the bottom of the Room 8.²⁴ Animal bones were discovered in the former burial, while the rim of the spherical urn was covered with a bowl in the latter one. Kurban Höyük, to the south, a well-preserved skeleton unearthed in the layer belonging to the Halaf culture, Period VIII, is associated with circular-planned structures dating to this period. The skeleton is considered to belong to a 40 year old woman, the arms and legs of which were pulled towards the stomach. Two skeletons were found in the same burial in the Late Chalcolithic layers, which are labeled to the VIb period. One of these skeletons belongs to a 25–30 year old woman, and the other one belongs to a 20–22 year old man. Although from their position one could conclude that they fell or were thrown here, a vessel found next to the skeletons, which was possibly left as a burial gift, disproves this view.²⁵

Four burials belonging to the Late Uruk settlement were found at Hassek Höyük, another settlement in the far south. The first of these belongs to a 2–3 year old child, the second to a 6 months old baby, and the last two belong to a 40–50 years old man. The three were discovered in urns or in large food bins/pithoi. In the child skeletons, traces of red paint were detected on the side of the skulls.²⁶

In contrast to the urn burials, simple underground earthen examples, inside the residential area, were discovered also at Köşk Höyük, another central Anatolian settlement. Besides pottery, obsidian tools and jewellery were found in these adult and child burials, while in a burial belonging to layer II there was an almond-eyed goddess figurine with her hands folded on her chest.

At Can Hasan, another central Anatolian settlement, fifteen burials in all were found: a child skeleton and a pit burial belonging to an adult skeleton in layer 2A; a damaged skeleton in layer 2B; and twelve child skeletons in layer 3.

²² Hauptmann 1982, p. 29; pl. 21/4.

²³ Hauptmann 1982, p. 29; pl. 21/3.

²⁴ Hauptmann 1982, p. 29.

²⁵ Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998; Alpagut 1986

²⁶ Harmankaya, Tanındı and Özbaşaran 1998 (Hassek Höyük).

Despite the fact that fifteen burials were detected in Çavi Tarlası, an extra mural burial is thought to exist there. Again, three whole skeletons and one damaged skeleton were found in Grikihacıyan. These lie in the east–west direction with their bodies drawn together and their heads pointing to the east, but no burial gifts were found. The first burial belongs to an adult male, the second to a female child, and the third to a child, whose sex could not be determined.

Consequently, it is possible to state that the urn burials found in layers XIII and XII in the Pırot Höyük resemble the burial customs frequently applied in the Chalcolithic cultures of this district. These burial urns are handmade, large-sized, containers with or without handles, which are similar to other daily use urns uncovered in the same layer. As far as it is understood, urns were not specially produced as burial vessels, but instead were normal everyday containers. The urns range from between 23–40 cm in height, 29–45 cm in body diameter, and 17–30 cm in rim diameter. Some of these burials, in the form of under–floor burials, were placed inside a hardened mud brick matrix while others were laid directly in the soil. The exteriors of the burial urns were also supported with other urn pieces, but the rims of the containers were not covered except for one urn in Layer XIV. The absence of covers reveals that they were possibly covered with a piece of cloth or leather. Pieces of animal bones, teeth and pottery pieces were found inside the burials, in addition to skeletal remains. While it is likely that the grain–like remains uncovered inside the urns were left as burial gifts, at the same time no other burial gift was discovered. Only the bowl found next to the cat. 1 burial was probably left as a burial gift.

Catalogue

The entries in this catalogue begin with the excavation inventory followed by its context. The following abbreviations have been used: H (height); D (depth); BD (body diameter); RM (rim diameter); ND (neck diameter).

1. No: 84/21, B11, at a depth of 9.60 m, Layer XIII (Fig. 7a). Double-handled pot or urn, with a slightly flaring flat rim, short–indistinct neck, hollowed bottom and double handles above the neck; yellowish red fabric (5 YR 4/3) with a rich amount of plant and small amount of medium-sized grits; slipped in yellowish red with a burnish; H: 27.4 cm; D: 25.8 cm; BD: 25.8 cm; RD: 25.8 cm.

2. No: 84/10, BII, inside the burial no. 5, at a depth of 9.55 m, Layer XIII (Fig. 7b). Carinated bowl with flaring rim, wide neck and slightly smoothed base; it was found in pieces inside Burial 5; yellowish red, well baked fabric (10 YR 4/2) with a small amount of mineral, plant and grit; slipped in yellowish red, plain surface; H: 3.4 cm; D: 2.7 cm; BD: 7 cm; ND: 6.8 cm; RD: 7.4 cm.

3. No: 84/19, BII, at a depth of 9.60 m, Layer XIII (Fig. 8a). Double-handled pot (urn) with bulbous body and a pair of solid handles set at the neck; well baked, yellowish red fabric (7.5 YR 6/8) with mica, chaff inclusions and medium-sized grits; polished surface and a slip that has been darkened; H: 23 cm; D: 22 cm; BD: 29 cm; RD: 17.5 cm.

4. No: 84/20, C9, Layer XIII (Fig. 8b). Rounded pot with a short, slightly flaring rim; well baked, yellowish red fabric (2.5 YR 5/4) with a small amount of medium-sized mica, and much chaff and grit inclusions; surface is slipped in same colour as fabric and polished; H: 29.4 cm; D: 26.7 cm; BD: 31.8 cm; RD: 26.8 cm.

5. No: 84/55, B10, Layer XIII (Fig. 9a). Rounded pot with a short, slightly flaring rim; potter's mark, 'M', on the body; wheel made; well baked, yellowish red fabric (7.5 YR 7/6) with a small amount of mineral, chaff and grit; polished surface; H: 41.5 cm; D: 40 cm; BD: 45.5 cm; RD: 30.5 cm.

6. No: 85/38, E 16 at a depth of 14.90 m; Layer XIV (Fig. 9b–c). Hand made, hemispherical bowl with straight rim, used as a pot lid; perforated base; well baked, yellowish red fabric (7.5 YR 6/4) with a small amount of mineral and grit, a rich amount of medium-sized chaff; surface slipped in yellowish red and polished; H: 8.5 cm; BD: 24.5 cm; RD: 22.5 cm.

7. No: 85/31, BII, at 10.10 m level, Layer XV (Fig. 10). Hand made, round-bodied pot with simple rim; well-baked, yellowish red (5 YR 5/3) fabric with medium-sized grit inclusions; and chaff; polished surface; H: 33 cm; BD: 37 cm; RD: 22 cm.

8. No: 85/29, B10 at a depth of 10.15 – 10.35 m, Layer XIV (Fig. 11). Wheel made, wide-bodied pot with simple rim; M-shaped potter's mark on body; well-baked, yellowish-red (7.5 YR 4/2) fabric with a small amount of chaff and medium-sized grit inclusions; polished surface, which slightly paler than fabric colour; H: 28.5 cm; BD: 28 cm; RD: 17.5 cm.

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An Old Babylonian Cylinder Seal from Daskyleion in northwestern Anatolia

Serap YAYLALI

Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi

Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi

Arkeoloji Bölümü

09010 Aydın

TURKEY

Fax: +90 256 2135379

E-mail: serap.yaylali@gmail.com

Abstract

This essay describes an Old Babylonian cylinder seal recovered coincidentally from a Byzantine deposit at the site of Daskyleion in northwestern Anatolia. The figurative scene and the cuneiform inscription carved on this seal is described in detail to place this artifact in its cultural and temporal context. This seal dating to a period between the late nineteenth and early eighteenth century B.C. depicts a protector goddess/Lama in a position paying respect to the god Adad. The reasons for the arrival of this seal in such a distant location far from its homeland is also evaluated in relation to the events that occurred between Anatolian and Mesopotamian cultures. It is proposed that this seal was a heirloom from the previous millennium that was brought to Daskyleion during the establishment of the Persian Satrapy at the site.

Daskyleion, identified with the city mound called Hisartepe on the southeastern of the Lake Manyas/Kuş (*Daskylitis*) near Ergili to the 30 km south of the town of Bandırma, in northwestern Turkey (Fig. 1), was the residence of the Persian satrap of the Hellespont and Phrygia. Archaeological excavations carried out in 1988 in the Byzantine deposits at Daskyleion surprisingly yielded two cylinder seals. One of them is Old Babylonian in date, whereas the other one is Neo-Babylonian in date.¹ The Old Babylonian

¹ Bakır 1991, p. 78; Bakır 1995, p. 271; Bakır 2001, p. 175-176.

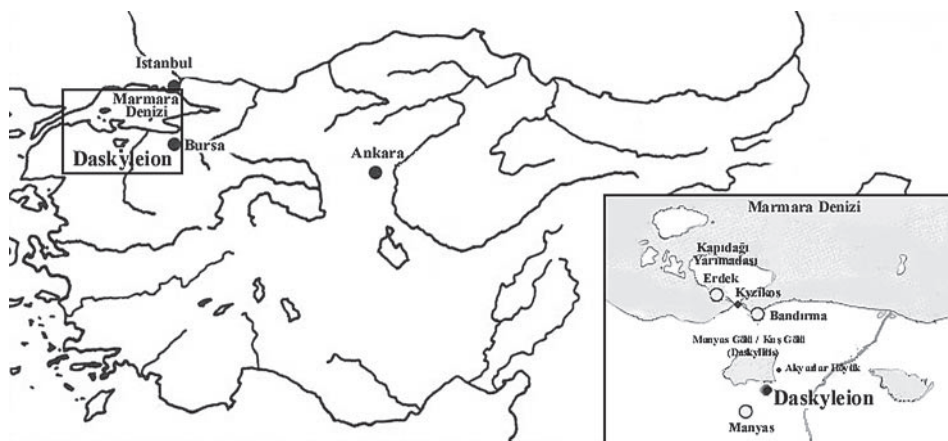


Fig. 1 Anatolia showing the location of Daskyleion

one (Fig. 2), which is made from hematite, is significant because of the figurative scene and the cuneiform inscription it bears.² The Old Babylonian cylinder seal forms the basis of this essay,³ whereas the second cylinder seal of Neo-Babylonian date will not be evaluated here.

The Old Babylonian seal from Daskyleion is examined here in terms of style of its figures, followed by the critical assessment of the translation of the cuneiform inscribed it bears. Then, a relative dating is offered for this cylinder seal by using archaeological evidence and historical references. The results of the examination of this seal from Daskyleion will indicate that it could be dated to the late nineteenth and early eighteen century B.C. It was probably an heirloom that remained down until to the first half of the first millennium B.C., which was then brought to Daskyleion by the Persians, for whom the site served as a satrapy for centuries. The lack of archaeological evidence dating to the second millennium B.C. at the site of Daskyleion and its vicinity prevented me going far in establishing a cultural link between northwestern Anatolia and the Old Babylonian sites in the southern Mesopotamia. This is not a surprise in view of the fact that this area was outside the orbit of the Assyrian traders as the present status of evidence

² This seal is currently kept in the Bursa Museum. Its museum inventory number is 9117 and excavation inventory number is Dask. 88-II. It measures 2.5 cm in height and 1.3 cm in diameter.

³ I would like to thank Tomris Bakır, the excavator of Daskyleion, for offering me to study this cylinder seal from the site and to Aliye Öztan for sharing her thoughts on this distinctive artifact.

indicates. However, this seal highlights the importance of the issue of culture contact related to the movements of small portable artifacts far from their homelands and makes it necessary to carry out investigations towards long distance exchange and interregional culture contact.

A detailed description of this cylinder seal may help us to obtain the chronological and cultural affiliation of this artifact. The scene depicted on this cylinder seal from Daskyleion is composed of a male human figure standing on a bull on the right and a second female human figure facing this group on the left. It must be mentioned that the human figure depicted in a worshipping position on the left of the scene is larger in size than the one depicted on a bull. The figure standing on a bull could be a god as this motif was a common theme in the Near Eastern iconography. Although the head of this figure standing on the bull is hard to identify, a tall conical and horned cap can partially be detected from the remaining traces. The upper body of this figure, which overall has a slender appearance, is fashioned triangular in shape with a frontal appearance. In contrast, the lower part of his body is depicted in profile. His left foot is straight, whereas his right foot appears to be stepping on something as his upward raised foot indicates. Although it is difficult to estimate where the upraised right foot was stepping, the projection beneath his right foot might indicate that he was originally stepping on the hump of the bull. This is possible since the humped bulls were common in the iconography of the Old Babylonian seals.⁴ In accordance with the position of his feet, his left leg appears below the long dress because of the onward movement of the right foot. He wears a long dress that has vertically running piles. As in this cylinder seal from Daskyleion, the Old Babylonian cylinder seals also depict Adad standing on a bull and wearing a similar long dress.⁵ There are also cases in Old Babylonian seals in which Adad stands on a mountain or a reclining bull. Moreover, Old Babylonian seals depict Adad stepping on the ground wearing a long dress that has vertically running piles with horizontally crossing wide bands arranged in regular intervals over them.⁶ The right hand of this figure is bent at the elbow and raised upwards. It holds the bridle of the bull and a two-sided thunderbolt. The end of the thunderbolt has rising zigzags that widen upwards symmetrically. As in other Old Babylonian seals, the thunderbolts that Adad holds have anywhere between

⁴ Werr 1988, pp. 78.90, 98.241, pls VIII.3(90), XXXV.3(241.a). We also know humped bulls from the Hittite, Achaemenid, and Sasanian seals. See Osten 1934, pp. 12, 46, 54, 66, 74–77, no: 299, 347, 456, 555–595.

⁵ Collon 1986, seal no: 447, pp. 449–450, 455–458, 460.

⁶ Collon 1986, seal no: 436–437, 439, 441a, 442–445, 452–454.

one and four zigzags.⁷ The bull has anatomically natural outlines. The plump front and back legs have details of muscles that reach to the body. Besides his horns and chin, the details of the bull's head are not clearly discernible. The long bridle projecting from below the chin of the bull is held by Adad standing on it. The downward leaning tail of the bull ends with a kind of a three-pointed fork similar to a thunderbolt. In the Old Babylonian cylinder seals, the tail of Adad's sacred animal bull does not end with a form of thunderbolt.⁸ Thus, the treatment of the end of the bull's tail in the shape of a three-pointed fork similar to a thunderbolt makes our seal from Daskyleion important among the examples of this type.

The depiction of this male figure with a thunderbolt in a position standing on a bull helps us to understand whom this figure represents. In the Mesopotamian art, the god known as *Adad* in Akkadian, *Ishkur* in Sumerian, and *Hadad* in Aramean was often depicted in standing positions, either on a bull or near it.⁹ Likewise, the Hittite and Hurrian storm/sky/weather god *Teshup*¹⁰ was also often depicted in a standing position on his sacred animal bull with a thunderbolt in his hand.¹¹ This type of standing figure holding a thunderbolt and bridle on a bull documented on our seal from Daskyleion appears to be a common feature of Old Babylonian cylinder seals as well. Moreover, the depiction of the end of the bull's tail in the shape of a thunderbolt, the attribute of the god Adad, implies that it was intended to recall Adad. Based on these criteria, this figure depicted on a bull could be Adad, the storm/sky/weather god. The evidence that the cuneiform inscribed within the vertical lines of our seal from Daskyleion bears the name of "God Adad" can confirm this assertion.¹²

The second standing figure depicted on the left of the scene facing Adad is depicted in a position paying respect to Adad. She is depicted from profile with upright raised hand bent from the elbows on the level of her shoulders. This slender and thinly fashioned figure has a narrow waist with hips seen beneath her dress. Her feet are to be seen below her long dress that reaches

⁷ Collon 1986, seal no: 440 (one zigzag); seal no: 95, 243, 247-249, 251, 442, 447, 452, 458, 460, 611 (two zigzags); seal no: 238, 246, 311, 314, 525 (three zigzags); seal no: 344 (four zigzags).

⁸ The lion dragon was occasionally depicted as the sacred animal of Adad, although it is not as common as the bull. See Osten 1934, pp. 37, 104, seal no: 220; Frankfort 1939, pl. 271; Özgüç 1965, p. 17, pls I.2, III. 9, IV.11a-b, V.13.

⁹ Beek 1961, p. 153.

¹⁰ Gurney 1952, pp. 135, 141.

¹¹ Osten 1934, pp. 12, 38, 81, no: 225, 249, 652; Frankfort 1970, pp. 233, fig. 272; 299, fig. 349; Darga 1992, pp. 329, fig. 312.

¹² Bakır 1995, p. 271; 2001, p. 175.

downwards towards her wrists. One of her feet is hardly discernible. She wears a conical head with what seems to be two rows of horns on her head. The parallel-running richly piled long dress reaches to the ankles and is made with vertically running incisions, which are separated into groups by relief-shaped vertically running piles. This dress appears to cover her shoulders and upper parts of her arms. Each upraised hand appears to wear a bracelet carved in relief at a place between the wrist and the elbow. The horned conical cap, her standing position facing Adad, her worshipping position with upraised hands bent from the elbows all indicates that this figure represents a goddess paying respect to Adad.¹³ This goddess, whom we also know from the Sumerian-Akkadian and Old Babylonian seals, wears a long piled dress with a shawl-like second dress over it, covering her shoulders and upper part of the arms. She wears a type of dress called *Kaunakes*,¹⁴ which covers the shoulders.¹⁵ This goddess also wears bracelets and a necklace.¹⁶ Similar goddesses often appear on the Old Babylonian seals in a worshipping position. She is also depicted in a position embracing a human or a king/god as a 'protector goddess' on the Old Babylonian seals.¹⁷ This protector goddess known as *Lama*¹⁸ plays a role as a mediator and reflects an important part of the Babylonian belief that gives importance to the protection of humans.¹⁹

In addition to these figures, there are also three lines of cuneiform inscription placed vertically within the borders on our seal from Daskyleion. The upper part of the first line from the right was left empty and only its lowest part contains an inscription. The second and third lines were filled with inscriptions from top to the bottom. In the previous publications, this cuneiform inscription was translated as "Ishtar, on the service of Adad" or "Ishtar, the servant of Adad".²⁰ This is important in view of the fact Old Babylonian cylinder seals also bear similar inscriptions.²¹ Such inscriptions

¹³ Tomris Bakır views this goddess as a king. See Bakır 2003, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Kaunakes* is a Greek term used for a kind of Mesopotamian dress. See Osten 1934, Dn. 13.

¹⁵ Osten 1934, pp. 90, 130–132, seal no: 173–175, 177, 182, 191–194, 205–206, 214–215, 217–218, 221, 224, 230, 235, 237–247, 249, 254, 266.

¹⁶ Osten 1934, pp. 37, 90, seals no: 215, 218.

¹⁷ Collon 1986, pl. VI. 31–32, VII. 38–45, XV.161–177, XVI. XX. 237–238, 245–246; Özgüç 1989, p. 379, pl. 78–79.1, 80–81.2; Collon 1997, pp. 14, 24–25, seal no: 1/6, 1/18–1/19.

¹⁸ Özgüç 1968, pp. 13–14; Collon 1995, pp. 99–100.

¹⁹ Klengel 2001, pp. 110–111.

²⁰ Bakır 1995, p. 271; 2001, p. 175; 2003, p. 12.

²¹ Collon 1986. For seals with the name of Adad, see seals 101, 183, 189, 194, 222, 244, 246, 249, 256, 268, 270, 318, 344, 354, 470, 567, 595, 624, 628, 630; For the names of different gods (Shamash, Nin Girsu, Nergal, Sin, Ea, Enki, Enlil, Amurru), seals 43, 48, 50–51, 179, 185, 207, 250, 556.

with the names of gods other than Adad have also been observed among the Old Babylonian cylinder seals. It is reasonable to argue from the foregoing discussion that the owners of the seals often inscribe the name of the gods whom they respect and worship much. Thus, it would appear that an individual named Ishtar²² might have viewed herself as the servant of Adad or in the service of Adad. However, poorly preserved nature of the letters led me to reconsider the translation of this cuneiform inscription:²³

First line:

^d ĪŠKUR GÚ.GAL----- (Sumerian) = (^d *Adad gugallu*, if read in Akkadian).

Second line:

-----[š]a ša ^d ĪŠKUR (Sumerian) = (^d *Adad*, if read in Akkadian)

^d

The word ĪŠKUR appearing on the first and second lines is the storm god Adad known to us in Akkadian texts. The word *gugallu* appearing in the first line means “great” or “mighty”.²⁴ It appears from these translations that the expression meaning “the god Adad is mighty” or “the mighty god Adad” was repeated twice on this seal.

Another important issue that needs to be discussed about this typical Old Babylonian seal from Daskyleion after discussing its style, iconography, and inscription is the reason why it turned out from this part of Anatolia, far from southern Mesopotamia. Old Babylonian seals started to appear in Anatolia during the reign of Assyrian Trade Colonies period in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. after the trade relations between Mesopotamia and Anatolia was systemized.²⁵ They are usually found in the trade centers (*Karums*). In particular, Kanesh-Karum was the place where cylinder seals have widely been documented during the excavations.²⁶ The Old Babylonian cylinder seals recovered from the Levels II and Ib at Kanesh-

²² The god name Ishtar are also used as personal names. See Collon 1986, seals 42, 231, 249, 258, 404, 482, 572, 576, 632.

²³ I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Cahit Günbatı from Ankara University for the transcription and translation of the cuneiform inscription on the seal.

²⁴ In Akkadian, *Gugallu* means “inspector responsible for the canals”. In addition, it also used as the title of the gods and the kings. It is also known that “Adad is the Gugallu of the heaven and earth”. I thank Cahit Günbatı for this information he supplied me.

²⁵ Özgüç 1965, p. 3.

²⁶ Özgüç and Özgüç 1953, p. 99; Özgüç 1968, pp. 13ff.

Karum,²⁷ which were used by the Mesopotamian traders,²⁸ are important because they served as a source of information for other styles.²⁹ Other than Kanesh, Old Babylonian cylinder seals from southern Mesopotamia³⁰ have also been found at other important Anatolian trade centers such as Acemhöyük,³¹ Konya-Karahöyük,³² Alişar,³³ Boğazköy,³⁴ Fraktın,³⁵ and Tarsus.³⁶

The presence of this Old Babylonian seal at Daskyleion, a northwestern Anatolian site far from the centers of the Assyrian Trade Colonies, is striking. This is because it is unclear whether or not the Assyrian traders ever came into contact with the western and inner western Anatolian centers. In other words, we do not know any center in western Anatolia that Assyrian traders contacted during this period. Thus, in light of the present status of evidence, it is not reasonable to argue that the Old Babylonian seal found at Daskyleion arrived here as a result of trade activities occurred during the Assyrian Trade Colonies period. The fact that this seal was found in a Byzantine deposit supports this inference. The questions of why this artifact occurs in this Byzantine deposit and whether or not this seal occurred here because the Byzantine interruption disturbed the older levels needs to be answered.

The question of whether or not seal brought to the site from elsewhere and as a consequence this cylinder seal turned out from a Byzantine deposit is difficult to answer at this point. The idea that this cylinder seal came to Daskyleion from a nearby settlement cannot be argued at this stage because of the dearth of evidence dating to the second millennium B.C. for the region. However, there is evidence dating to the third millennium B.C. from the Akyarlar Höyük located on the eastern side of the Lake Manyas.³⁷

²⁷ Özgüç and Tunca 2001, p. 13.

²⁸ Özgüç 1989, p. 379. In addition to the cylinder seals, there are bullae on which the impressions of stamp seals are documented. Bullae are as important as cylinder seals as they inform us for the presence stamp seals. Thus, our information about seals and their period increases.

²⁹ Özgüç 1968, p. 13ff. Among the Anatolian cylinder seal repertoire, Old Assyrian and Old Syrian cylinder seals also occur along with the Old Babylonian ones. In addition, local Anatolian cylinder seals were also in use during this period.

³⁰ Özgüç and Özgüç 1953, p. 99.

³¹ Özgüç 1964b, pp. 96ff; 1966, pp. 10ff, pl. XIV. 1–2; 1968, p. 11, pl. XIV; 1980, fig. II-5a–b.

³² Alp 1994, pp. 107ff., pl. 32–33.

³³ Osten 1937, p. 207, fig. 246. d2235

³⁴ Tosun 1956, p. 80.

³⁵ Özgüç 1955, pp. 304ff, figs. 32–34.

³⁶ Goldman 1956, pp. 230ff. fig. 393. no. 28.35810.

³⁷ Bakır 1991, p. 78; 1995, p. 271. It is reasonable to infer from the statements such as “finds dating to the third and second millennium B.C.” and “keramik der Troia-Yortan

Thus, it is difficult to establish a link between Daskyleion and the area where this cylinder seal originates. We will be able to answer this question only when we learn more about the second millennium B.C. past of the Lake Manyas area. Whether or not this cylinder seal came from the older levels when the pits were opened during the Byzantine period is another possibility that needs to be considered. This question can also only be answered when excavations towards the earlier levels are undertaken at the site.

As is mentioned above, it is difficult to establish a relationship between the seal and its provenance in light of the present status of evidence. Nonetheless, it is useful to suggest how it was brought to Daskyleion from its place of origin. Given that we cannot establish at this stage that Lake Manyas had connections with central Anatolian trading centers, one needs to consider the possibility that our seal was brought to Daskyleion by the Persians as an heirloom. In order to establish an approximate date, it may be useful to mention briefly the relationship between the Persians and the Babylonians, as well as the establishment of the Persian satrapy at Daskyleion during their dominion in Anatolia.

As is well known, the agreement between the Persian king Cyrus II and the Babylonian King Nabonidus and the subsequent victory over the Medians in 550 B.C. started a new era for the Persians, followed by the take over of Babylonia in 539 B.C.³⁸ Anatolia came under the control of Persians after the Cyrus' victory over the Lydian King Croisos first with the Halys bend and then in Sardis in 547 B.C. The establishment of various Persian satrapies in Anatolia followed this.³⁹ Daskyleion was among these satrapies that lasted from its establishment in 547 B.C. to the arrival of Alexander the Great, who gave an end to the Persian hegemony in Anatolia in 334 B.C.⁴⁰ In light of this information, the arrival of this seal to Daskyleion might have taken place sometimes between the middle of the sixth century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century B.C. On the other hand, the time span of the Old Babylonian culture, to which this cylinder seal belongs, dates to from the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. to its take over by the Persians during the Neo-Babylonian period, suggesting a long period of time as much as fifteen centuries. As Collon has already demonstrated, there is archaeological

Gruppe der 3. und 2. Jahrtausenden" that the region yielded pottery comparable to the ones of the Yortan culture. Nevertheless, these articles do not inform us about the second millennium B.C. remains from the area.

³⁸ Dandamaev 1989, p. 18, 47ff.; Briant 2002, p. 40.

³⁹ Dandamaev 1989, 23ff.; Briant 2002, p. 35.

⁴⁰ Bakır 2001, p. 170.; Briant 2002, pp. 697, 1008.

evidence that second millennium B.C. Old Babylonian cylinder seals are found as sites located far from their homeland during the later centuries or millennia.⁴¹ The Daskyleion evidence may fall into this category. If we cannot establish a contact during the second millennium B.C., then one must take into account the idea that it was brought to Daskyleion by the Persians sometimes between the middle of the sixth to the middle of the fourth century B.C, when the Persian satrapy was established at Daskyleion.⁴²

Before proposing a relative dating, it is useful to evaluate when the Old Babylonian seals of southern Mesopotamia started to appear and how long they were in use in Anatolia. Old Babylonian seals first appeared during the earlier stages of the Assyrian Trade Colonies period in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C, first in the Level II at Kanesh-Karum and continued to be used in the Level Ib.⁴³ Nevertheless, cylinder seals, which were foreign to Anatolia, ceased to be used following the end of the Assyrian Trade Colonies period.⁴⁴ Level II at Kanesh starts during the first year of the reign of the Assyrian King Erishum I (1975–1935 B.C.) and lasted at least one hundred years. Level II ended with a fire during the Assyrian Naramsin's reign sometimes around 1836 B.C.⁴⁵ They are also known to us from the level Ib at Kanesh, which was re-established after its abandonment following a fire.⁴⁶ The level Ib starts with the reign of the Assyrian King Shamshi Adad I (1809–1776 B.C.), through the reign of the Old Babylonian King Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.), and ends sometimes during his son Shamshiluna's tenth year of reign (1750–1740 B.C.).⁴⁷ Those cylinder seals recovered from the beginning of the Level II at Kanesh recall the style of the ones from the Third Dynasty at Ur.⁴⁸ The characteristic Old Babylonian seals seem to develop following the reign of king Sin-mu-ballit (1812–1792).⁴⁹

⁴¹ Collon 1987, pp. 135–138. Series of Mesopotamian cylinder seals were discovered at places far from their homeland. The Akkadian cylinder seal found at Capella Palatina in Palermo-Sicily, Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid, and Cypriot cylinders seal found at a Punic grave of seventh to the sixth century B.C. at Carthage, Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal in a Roman settlement at Mainz in Germany, the Old Babylonian cylinder seal at Herat in Afghanistan, and the Syrian cylinder seal found in a Roman grave at Vicenza in Italy are examples that may fall into this category. It is also known that Assyrian king Tukulti Ninurta I sent some of the Babylonian trophy to Thebes in Greece, while an Akkadian cylinder seal was also discovered within a treasure at Tod in Egypt.

⁴² Bakır 2001, p. 170; Briant 2002, pp. 697, 1008.

⁴³ Özgüç and Özgüç 1953, pp. 99ff.

⁴⁴ Özgüç and Özgüç 1953, p. 97.

⁴⁵ Özgüç and Tunca 2001, pp. 3–4; Veenhof 2003, pp. 57ff.

⁴⁶ Özgüç 1964a, p. 183.

⁴⁷ Özgüç 1968, p. 23.; Özgüç-Tunca 2001, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Özgüç 1968, p. 21.

⁴⁹ Özgüç 1968, p. 21; Kuhrt 1995, p. 99.

Based upon the style of the figures and the cuneiform inscribed on it, our cylinder seal from Daskyleion may be dated to the later stages of the Old Babylonian period. The simplification of the figures and the elongated nature of the lower parts of the figures are also characteristics of the seals of this period. The closest parallels for our seal from Daskyleion is the impression of a cylinder seals from Tell Harmal and dates to the reign of Ibal-piel II, contemporary of the King Hammurabi.⁵⁰ Another closer parallel is also an impression of a cylinder seal dating the fourteenth year of the Shamshiluna.⁵¹ As a consequence, it is reasonable to date this cylinder seal from Daskyleion to the reign of the King Hammurabi and his son Shamsuiluna. This means that this cylinder seal may temporally fall into a time period that corresponds to the level Ib at Kanesh-Karum.⁵²

The importance of the cylinder seal from Daskyleion is not simply its presence in northwestern Anatolia far from southern Mesopotamia. It made it necessary to evaluate the issues related to interregional interactions and the factors that related to the introduction of this seal into Daskyleion in relation to the historical and political events.

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⁵⁰ Werr 1988, p. 78, pl.VIII.3 (90).

⁵¹ Werr 1988, p. 98, pl. XXXV. 3 (241 a)

⁵² According to this argument, the nineteenth to seventeenth century B.C. date offered for this seal from Daskyleion is possible as it corresponds to the levels II and Ib at Kültepe-Kanesh. However, in this large time span, our seal from Daskyleion can be pushed back to a period between the beginning of the level Ib to the end of this level during the tenth year of the reign of Shamsuiluna, a date earlier than what was previously proposed. Bakır 1995, p. 271; 2001, pp. 175–176.

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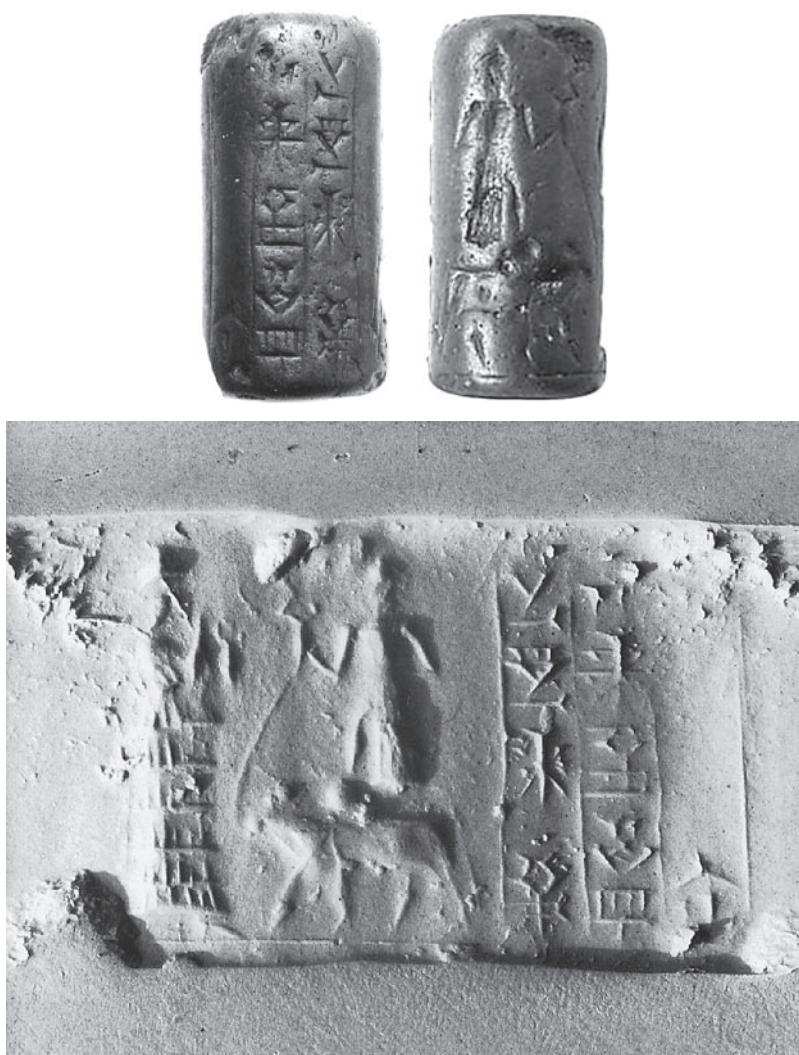


Fig. 2 The cylinder seal and its impression.

On Two Tablets from Kāmid el-Lōz

Nadav NA'AMAN

Department of Jewish History
Tel Aviv University
Ramat Aviv 69978
ISRAEL
E-mail: nnaaman@post.tau.ac.il

Abstract

The article discusses two broken tablets from the Egyptian centre of Kumidi. Tablet KL 78:200 is a school text in which the signs are listed in a non-regular order. Eight letters dispatched to Kumidi have been discovered so far indicating that professional scribes capable of reading and writing in Akkadian lived there. Tablet KL 78:200 shows that Akkadian was not only written, but also learned in the place. The second fragmentary tablet was probably sent by Aziru of Amurru to the governor of Kumidi demonstrating the city's central role in the Egyptian system of government after Aziru has conquered the Egyptian centres of Šumur and Ullasa in the late Amarna period.

Nine tablets and fragments from Kāmid el-Lōz (Kumidi) an Egyptian centre of government located on the major crossroads of the southern Lebanese Beqa' have thus far been published.¹ Eight of them (KL 69:100, KL 69:277, KL 69:278, KL 69:279, KL 72:600, KL 74:300; Arnaud 1991; Huehnergard 1996) are letters exchanged with neighbouring rulers and officials, the genre of the ninth tablet (KL 78:200) is yet to be clarified. Most (or all) the tablets were written in the second half of the 14th century BCE, shortly after the Amarna period. The post-Amarna date is proved by the two letters sent by Ili-rapi', Rib-Hadda's successor in Byblos, to the "magnate" (LÚ.GAL) of Kumidi, and by the pharaonic letter sent to Zalaya,

¹ Edzard 1976, pp. 62–67; 1980, pp. 52–54; 1982, pp. 131–135; Wilhelm 1973, pp. 69–75; 1982, pp. 123–129; Arnaud 1991, pp. 7–16; Huehnergard 1996, pp. 97–113. For the latter tablet, see recently Arnaud 2003, pp. 125–127.

probably Biryawaza's successor on the throne of Damascus.² The eight letters demonstrate the centrality of Kumidi in the Egyptian system of government of northern Canaan after the conquest of Šumur and Ullasa by Aziru of Amurru. The governor of Kumidi supervised the areas of northern Canaan and the coast of Lebanon, and whenever necessary the local rulers addressed him as the higher Egyptian authority in this vast area.

In what follows I will discuss the text and genre of tablet KL 78:200 and the first part of the badly-broken letter published by Arnaud (1991).

A School Text

Edzard published a copy and a short discussion of tablet KL 78:200,³ but did not define the letter's genre. Arnaud suggested that it might be an incantation,⁴ and Hallo restored a few lines and suggested that it was a school text.⁵ The tablet is badly broken, and only about half of the right side of the obverse and the beginning of the five final lines of the reverse have survived. The following is a suggested restoration of the text.

Obv.	Rev.
1. ab í[b ub]	1. x [x x]
2. la lí [lu ²]	2. ši [ša ² šu ²]
3. dīn du d[i ²]	3. si s[á ² su ²]
4. ma me m[u]	4. ta [ti ² tu ²]
5. gu gír [ga ²]	5. za z[i zu ²]
6. ud ² ad ² i[d ²]	
7. ša ¹ še [šu ²]	
8. [r]u ri [ra ²]	

Paleographic note

Line 6: Edzard copied a *pi* sign at the beginning of the line. However, the second sign does not fit the series *pi pa pu*. Moreover, the sign *pi* is not widely attested in the second millennium BCE. With all due caution, I suggest deciphering the line *ud² ad² i[d²]*.

² For the date, see Na'aman 1988, pp. 179–191; Huehnergard 1996, pp. 98–100.

³ Edzard 1980, pp. 52–54.

⁴ Arnaud 1991, p. 8 n. 7.

⁵ Hallo 1992, p. 80 n. 109.

Discussion

According to Edzard, about three-quarter of the obverse is preserved and the tablet was written on its upper and lower parts. Hence, the original number of lines on the tablet is about 22, 13 of which (one non-deciphered) have been preserved. Four to six series of CV syllables are missing (BA, HA, KA, NA and possibly QA and TA), the other lines must have started with vowels (VC).

No systematic order of signs appears on the tablet. The first syllable of the CV pattern ends with either *a*, *i*, or *u*, and sometime a CVC sign is written (i.e., *din*, *gir*).

Of the nine tablets discovered so far in the Egyptian centre of Kumidi, only exercise KL 78:200 was written at the site. The dispatch of eight letters to Kumidi indicates that professional scribes capable of reading and writing in Akkadian lived there. Tablet KL 78:200 shows that Akkadian was not only written, but also learned in the place.

School texts have been discovered in some Canaanite cities (e.g., Hazor, Megiddo, Ashkelon),⁶ and in the Egyptian centres of government (Kumidi and Aphek).⁷ Eight tablets and fragments were uncovered in the excavations of the latter site, including a letter, two lexical texts, two administrative tablets and three unidentified fragments.⁸ The site of Late Bronze II Aphek was excavated in its entirety whereas only part of Kāmid el-Lōz has been uncovered; a comparison of the overall number of tablets discovered at the two sites may be misleading. Nevertheless, the uncovering of school texts in the two sites indicates that the training of young scribes was taking place there. Did the Egyptians try to monopolize the training of local scribes, thereby increasing their supervision of their masters, the Canaanite rulers?

⁶ van der Toorn 2000, pp. 105–106, with earlier literature; Huehnergard and van Soldt 1999, pp. 184–192.

⁷ Rainey's suggestion (1998, pp. 239–242) that the small clay cylinder uncovered at Beth-shean is a school exercise is unlikely. The cylinder is too small for writing an exercise. Moreover, its clay is derived from the central hill country. It is a letter sent by Tagi, possibly an official of Shechem, to Lab'ayu, ruler of Shechem, when the latter stayed at Beth-shean. For details, see Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004, pp. 259–260).

⁸ Rainey 1975, pp. 125–129; 1976, pp. 137–140; Owen 1981, pp. 1–17; Hallo 1981, pp. 18–24; Singer 1983, pp. 3–25. For additional literature, see Horowitz, Oshima and Sanders 2002, p. 755.

A Letter of Aziru to the Governor of Kumidi

Arnaud published a badly broken letter, restored it and suggested that it was sent by the governor of Kumidi to the ruler of Amurru.⁹ However, the words of the blessing fit a message to an Egyptian official, not to a Canaanite ruler. Moreover, in lines 8-9 the sender mentions *ḫaltali* brought by the Suteans to “my country”. The reference to a defined territory fits a city-state ruler, not an Egyptian governor. The suggestion that the tablet is a copy of the original letter sent to Amurru is unlikely.

Enclosed is a tentative restoration of the obverse of the letter.

1. [a-na LÚ.GAL AD-ia um-ma ^mA-z]i-ri
2. [DUMU-ka lu²-ú² šul²-mu² a-na L]Ú.GAL
3. [AD-ia DINGIR^{meš} š]u-lum-ka šu-<lum> ANŠE.KUR^{meš}-RA-ka₄
4. [^{giš}GIGIR^{meš}-ka₄ KU]R-ka₄ li-iš-al
5. [iš²-te²-me²] i-nu-ma šap-ra-ta
6. [a-na ia-ši] a-wa-te LÚ^{meš} Su-te
7. [ù² i]l-nu-ma uš-ši-ir-ti a-na-ku
8. [a-na LÚ^{meš}] Su-te ù la-qú \ ḫa-al-ta
9. [ù i²-ru²-bu² a-n]a KUR-ia ša-ni-ta₅ i-nu-ma
10. [ša-ap-ra-ta a]-na ia-ši
11. [ù al²-lu²-mi² uš-ši-ir]-ti a-na-ku
12. [a-na LÚ^{meš} Su-te a-n]a la-qé \ ḫa-al-ti
13. [ša ...

Translation:

[Say to magnate, my father; message of Az]iru, [your son. May all go well to the m]agnate, [my father. May God] show concern for you, your horses, [your chariots and] your [coun]try.

[I have heard] what you wrote [to me] about the affairs of the Suteans, [that] when I sent [to the Su]teans they took *ḫaltali* [and entered t]o my country. Furthermore, when [you wrote t]o me, [indeed] I [sen]t [to the Suteans t]o take the *ḫaltali* [that they have brought and ...

Notes:

Lines 1-2: For the restoration, see the text published by Huehnergard, ZA 86 (1996) 100, lines 1-2.

⁹ Arnaud 1991, pp. 7–16.

Lines 3-4: Arnaud restored the blessing on the basis of EA 96, lines 4-6. A similar blessing appears on a recently published Late Bronze letter from Hazor. See W. Horowitz, *IEJ* 50 (2000) 17, lines 4-6.

Lines 8, 12: The language (West Semitic? Hurrian?) and the meaning of the noun *ḫaltali* is unknown.

The text is too broken to suggest a reconstruction of its contents, in particular since the key word, *ḫaltali*, (possibly a commodity made of metal) remains unknown. Noteworthy are the words “they detain (*i-ka-lu*) the men” in line 20, and the reference in line 21 to silver and copper ([K]Û.[BA]BBAR^{mcš} URUDU \ *nu-ḫu-uš-ti*). Does *ḫaltali* mean “booty”, or the like, and does the text deal with the capture of captives and their release?

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The Genre of the Bitnoam Inscription

Joseph AZIZE

Faculty of Arts
University of Sydney NSW 2008
AUSTRALIA
E-mail: Joseph.Azize@law.uts.edu.au

Abstract

It is suggested that while the Bitnoam text belongs to the genre of the 'Phoenician royal funerary inscription', it extends that genre in three telling ways: first, it makes no reference to any afterlife; second, it directs no curses to potential desecrators who rob the sarcophagus or reuse it; third, it describes how sumptuously the lady is decked out. Together, these suggest that the deceased may have been indifferent to what might happen to her sarcophagus and even her corpse, after her burial, and was perhaps sceptical that there was any afterlife. This points to a perhaps surprising intellectual sophistication in pre-Hellenistic Byblos.

Since its discovery in 1929, the Bitnoam inscription has been the subject of several studies.¹ These have been so few and short, and the text itself so individual, that a concise review of the major studies is possible, and even desirable. The inscription itself, with Gibson's translation, reads:

b'rn zn 'nk btn'm 'm mlk 'zb'l mlk gbl bn plṭb'l khn b'lt škbt bswt wmr's
'ly wmḥsm ḥrṣ lpy km's lmlkyt 'š kn lṣny

In this coffin lie I Batnoam, mother of King Azbaal, king of Byblos, son of Paltibaal, priest of the Mistress, in a robe and with a tiara on my head and a gold bridle on my mouth, as was the custom with the royal ladies who were before me.²

¹ In transcribing the name of the deceased, I follow the vocalization in Krahmalkov 2000, p. 132. This is based partly upon a study of Latin-letter Phoenician texts: Krahmalkov 2001, p. 134.

² Gibson 1982, p. 99. I have transliterated his Hebrew characters into Latin script with standard diacritic marks, in accordance with the usage in Krahmalkov 2000.

The *editio princeps* was published by Dunand in 1933, who noted that the inscription was so well carved as to comprise “un beau monument de l’art en Phénicie...”.³ The sarcophagus is made of very fine grain white marble, and the interior was carefully prepared. Dunand summed it up by observing that: “La rectitude des plans, l’harmonie des proportions, la matité des surfaces suffisent à donner au monument un réel aspect de calme beauté.”⁴ Line drawings of Dunand’s photograph of the sarcophagus, and copies of his cross-section of the transverse and the inscription comprise **Figures 1, 2 and 3**, at the end of this article respectively. The sarcophagus was measured at 2.2m in length, 0.735m in width, and 0.8m in height with its cover.⁵ The inscription comprises but one short line of 0.94 metres, and the letters are only about one centimetre in height.⁶

Dunand initially construed the last words as: *lmlk ytʾkn lpny*.⁷ He later abandoned this reading. One can clearly discern the differences in reading if the last four words of the text are reproduced as read by Gibson and others, using dotted underlining to show the letters which were construed by Dunand as one word, providing him thus with only three words, in contradistinction to later scholars:

lmlk^{yt}.ʾ^{kn} lpny

His reading caused Dunand to translate the final segment of the text as “de même que [pour] les rois qui ont été enterrés avant moi.”⁸ It will be seen that the divergent reading leads only to an understanding that Bitnoam is referring to ‘kings’ as opposed to ‘queens’ and an explicit statement that these predecessors were interred.

Not surprisingly, in view of the numbers of masks found in Phoenician contexts, Dunand took the *mḥsm* to be a mask of gold for the face or mouth alone.⁹ He found it surprising that the text would refer to the name *bʿlt* without the geographic complement *gbl*.¹⁰ Other matters dealt with by Dunand do not call for review. This understanding of the term *mḥsm* was challenged by Friedrich in a 1935 article. In respect of this word, he argued:

Bei *mḥsm* wirkt der vom Verfasser angenommene Bedeutungsübergang von “Zaum” oder “Maulkorb” (so hebr. *mḥsum*) zu “Gesichtsmaske” etwas

³ Dunand 1933, p. 151.

⁴ Dunand 1933, p. 152.

⁵ Dunand 1933, p. 151.

⁶ Dunand 1933, p. 152.

⁷ Dunand 1933, p. 152.

⁸ Dunand 1933, p. 153.

⁹ Dunand 1933, p. 154.

¹⁰ Dunand 1933, p. 153.

gewaltsam. Ehelolf schlägt daher vor, in *mḥsm* lieber eine "Mundplakette" zu sehen, ein Lippenblech, was man den Toten über den Mund tut, vielleicht, um bösen Geistern das Eindringen in den Mund und damit in die Seele des Toten zu verwehren. Diese Deutung passt beßer zur Etymologie von *mḥsm* und auch zu den Textworten *lpy* "an meinem Munde".¹¹

As we shall see, the translation of *mḥsm* as "Zaum" ("bridle") or "Maulkorb" ("muzzle") has much to recommend it, but is still only a hypothesis. We simply cannot be sure of the meaning of the word *mḥsm* in Phoenician, and no oral or facial item at all was found in the sarcophagus. *DNWSI* simply states that here it means an "implement to close lips, bridle, clip, leaf of metal".¹² Friedrich took strong objection to Dunand's reading of the text from the word *km's* onwards. It was his suggestion to see the final words as they are now accepted by scholars. This argument had two prongs: first, he exposed the weaknesses in Dunand's reading *yt'kn*, and second, he pointed out the suitability of his alternative reading *lmkyt ' kn*, especially the congruence of the comparison of Bitnoam the king's mother to the queens before her.¹³

Friedrich translated the text so that after the reference to the priest of Baalat, the queen lies "(nur) mit einem Gewande und einer Haube auf mir und einem goldenen Lippenblech": "(only) with a robe and a bonnet upon me, and a gold lip-sheet".¹⁴ That is, Bitnoam is understood to declare that she lies in the tomb only with the items in question. In this respect, Friedrich states:

Der Sinn des Textes ist offenbar: Außer der erwähnten Ausstattung liegen keinerlei kostbare Beigaben in diesem Sarge, die einen Grabräuber reizen könnten: störe also den Frieden meines Grabes nicht.¹⁵

In support, Friedrich cites the similar sentiments of the funerary inscriptions of Tabnit and Eshmunazor of Sidon, together with another text from Nerab.¹⁶ I read the inscription in a diametrically opposite fashion, but shall deal with this later.

Maisler weighed in to support Friedrich's reading of the term *mḥsm* as a "Mundplakette, ein Lippenblech".¹⁷ Maisler noted Friedrich's arguments, and adduced some confirmatory archaeological finds from Mycenae and

¹¹ Friedrich 1935, p. 349. Once again, I have transliterated his Hebrew characters.

¹² *DNWSI* vol. 2, p. 614.

¹³ This is a simplification: the full argument will be found at Friedrich 1935, pp. 349-350.

¹⁴ Friedrich 1935, p. 350.

¹⁵ Friedrich 1935, p. 350.

¹⁶ Friedrich 1935, p. 350.

¹⁷ Maisler 1936-1937, p. 239.

Enkomi of the late Aegean Bronze Age, and from Beth-Shan (where the mouth piece bore a hole so that a string could be attached to the head of the deceased) dating to c.1200 BCE, and from Tell Halaf of between 1100 and 1000 BCE. Maisler concluded that:

Dieser Brauch had sich demnach aus der ägäischen Welt nach Phönizien, Palästina und Westmesopotamien im 12. und 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr. verbreitet und lebte auf Kypern und in Phönizien bis zum Anfang der hellenistischen Zeit fort.¹⁸

Shortly afterwards, Dussaud made a telling, and in my view, unanswerable criticism of Friedrich's interpretation of the text. Dussaud pointed out that the inventory, far from deterring would-be thieves, would be calculated to excite their cupidity. He concluded: "Aussi le *nur* qu'introduit M. Friedrich dans sa traduction... nous paraît aboutir à un contresens."¹⁹

When Dunand came to publish the *Fouilles de Byblos*, he accepted Friedrich's revised reading of the last words of the inscription, but disagreed with his overall interpretation, pointing in support to Dussaud's recent note. Dunand went on to note of Bitnoam that:

Elle en tire vanité et point ne se soucie d'un profanateur éventuel, puisque faisant graver sur son sarcophage dans quel appareil royal elle repose, elle ajoute que tel était celui des personnes royales qui furent avant elle.²⁰

Later on, I shall be expanding upon this otherwise overlooked insight. Since then, scholarship has concentrated upon the lexicography and syntax of the inscription. The editors of *KAI* accept the reading of *mḥsm* as "Lippenblech", adding that at Carthage, silver masks were found with the dead from the sixth century BCE. They do not, however, add a "nur" before the list of items.²¹ Indeed, this reading has not — so far as I can tell — been revived since Dussaud's 1936 article.

In 1980, Swiggers revised previous readings in that he construed the text as two sentences: a nominal clause followed by a verbal clause commencing with *škbt*.²² Swiggers was silent as to Friedrich's suggestion of "nur", and there is nothing similar in his own translation. He takes *mrš* as "head-gear" or "head-covering",²³ and accepts that the *mḥsm* is of the type known from

¹⁸ Maisler 1936-1937, p. 240.

¹⁹ Dussaud 1936, p. 99.

²⁰ Dunand 1939, p. 31.

²¹ *KAI* vol. 2, 16.

²² Swiggers 1980, pp. 111-112.

²³ DNWSI vol. 2, p. 689, states: "subst. exact meaning unknown / prob. some kind of headdress".

Tell Halaf, and so is best translated as “mouth plate / cover”.²⁴ Swiggers is careful to point out that Bitnoam is comparing herself with former queens, and is proud that she has been shown like respect in that she has all three honorific items: the garment, head-gear and mouth plate.²⁵ Dussaud had already, perhaps even more clearly, discerned this quality of pride in Bitnoam’s inscription.²⁶

Gibson accepts that the *mrʾ* was “some kind of head-dress or tiara”, and that the *mḥsm* was “prob. some kind of muzzle or clip closing the lips to prevent the entry of demons.”²⁷ Stéphan adds that there is a Mycenaean parallel for the burial of a princess wearing a funerary crown.²⁸ Lipinski has briefly contended that the *swt* will have been a garment of purple, with the elevated status which that implies.²⁹

Before leaving the Bitnoam text, there is one final issue: what is the significance of the *mḥsm*? There may be two answers. It may be that Bitnoam did not share the general Phoenician view of the significance of the *mḥsm*: we cannot tell. There is in fact no evidence that the *mḥsm* was seen as denying demons entry to the corpse. What, in any event, would have been the purpose of that? There may have been a rationale of which we are ignorant, but there is no evidence in any direction. The idea of preventing demonic possession is an unsupported assertion which has been repeated since Friedrich’s article without the adduction of anything further in support. That the Phoenicians believed in the existence of demons is not in doubt. But was there some reason to think that demons could not enter by any other orifice, by nostrils or ears, for example? It may be that the standard view is correct, but how do we know?

The gold mouth pieces adduced as analogues to the *mḥsm* could even have been intended to hold the mouth of the deceased shut, as depicted on Athenian vases.³⁰ That is, the purpose of the device may have been primarily aesthetic, or even simultaneously aesthetic and prophylactic against demons. Even if one possessed a complete *mḥsm*, that is, complete with all the strings which went with it, it would still not prove what its purpose was. The most it would do is open the question up by showing that as well as blocking the mouth it would hold the mandible in place.

²⁴ Swiggers 1980, pp. 114-115.

²⁵ Swiggers 1980, pp. 115-116.

²⁶ Dussaud 1936, p. 99.

²⁷ Gibson 1982, p. 100.

²⁸ Stéphan 1985, p. 89.

²⁹ Lipinski in *DCPP*, p. 360. DNWSI vol. 2, p. 781, glosses “swt” as a “garment”.

³⁰ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 212-213.

To review what has been said about the Bitnoam inscription, everything points to a royal lady who projects herself to us, even today, as a strong sure character, decidedly materialist and status-conscious. Bitnoam, as she presents in this text, comes across as an individual: perhaps all the more so for being the only royal female Phoenician to speak in her own voice.

The Phoenician Funerary inscription

Ancient texts cannot be properly studied in an academic context without considering their genre.³¹ It is a part of this identification to consider how any given text departs from or extends that genre. As Fowler maintains:

... to have any artistic significance, to mean anything distinctive in a literary way, a work must modulate or vary or depart from its generic conventions, and consequently alter them for the future.³²

While the Bitnoam inscription is interesting in itself, it can be better appreciated in its context. The genre of the Phoenician funerary inscription is quite limited, and this inscription aside, they all seem refer to have been written for males. We know of these funerary inscriptions:

Aḥiram	c.1000 BCE	Byblos, KAI 1, Gibson 4 ³³
No name	9 th century BCE	Cyprus, KAI 30, Gibson 12
No name	c. 500 BCE	Byblos, Röllig (1974)
Son of Šipīṭbʿl	c. 500 BCE	Byblos, KAI 9
Tabnit	c. 490 BCE	Sidon, KAI 13, Gibson 27 ³⁴
Eshmunazor II	c. 475 BCE	Sidon, KAI 14, Gibson 28
Bitnoam	c. 350 BCE	Byblos, KAI 11, Gibson 26

There is a question as to whether the Phoenician inscription from Pyrgi should be included as a funerary inscription, or not. However, even if it is such an inscription, it is anomalous in that it is even more clearly an inscription commemorating the dedication of a temple. It shall not be considered here.³⁵

³¹ The literature in this area is significant and increasing. Specifically in respect of the literature of ancient Western Asia, see for example, Vanstiphout 1986.

³² Fowler 1982, p. 23.

³³ The dating of this inscription is controversial, but this date is accepted by McCarter in Hallo and Younger 2000, p. 181.

³⁴ A date in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE is preferred by McCarter. Therefore, McCarter places the Eshmunazor inscription correspondingly later, in the mid-fifth century BCE: in Hallo and Younger 2000, p. 182.

³⁵ Translations with some commentary can conveniently be found in Hallo and Younger 2000, p. 184 and Gibson 1982, pp. 151-9. Gibson writes at p. 152 that: "The most plausible explanation... seems to me to be that the king of Caere allowed himself... to be associated

Avishur noted that while ancient funerary inscriptions are widely known:

Phoenician funeral inscriptions are the most developed and complete... The structure of the Phoenician tomb inscriptions has three basic parts. *In the beginning* the writer of the inscription presents himself by his title and degree. *In the body* of the inscription comes the declaration that in the tomb there are no treasures. *At the closing* comes the warning and the curse against desecration and robbers.³⁶

Phoenician funerary inscriptions must have been substantially more widespread, as the Hebrew funerary inscriptions of Israel were influenced by the style, language and structure of the Phoenician models, even to the extent of occasionally preferring Phoenician vocabulary to standard Hebrew.³⁷ There is more to these funerary inscriptions than can be dealt with here. In any event, this study shall deal only with *royal* funerary inscriptions. Apart from the fact that almost all funerary inscriptions from Phoenicia are royal, the concerns of royalty and commoner did overlap but were not identical.

The first line of the two-line Aḥiram inscription relevantly reads in the Phoenician, followed by Gibson's translation:

'rn z p'l [']tb'l bn 'ḥrm mlk gbl l'ḥrm 'bh kšth b'lm³⁸

Coffin which Ittobaal, son of Aḥiram, king of Byblos, made for Aḥiram, his father, when he placed him in 'the house of eternity'.³⁹

The entirety of the second line comprises a curse formula. No religious wishes are expressed here, but the inscription as a whole has an air of filial piety, as it is dedicated by Ittobaal, and makes reference to his father's abode for eternity. The malediction of despoilers is quite round, and includes a wish that the latter's inscription will be effaced. This text has two elements, each of which is expressed in an individual line: first, it identifies the item upon which it is engraved as the coffin, who made it, and for whom. Second, it has the relatively lengthy imprecation. But these two elements point to a larger over-theme: that of the survival of Aḥiram into eternity (*ʿlm*).

The sarcophagus is also an artefact, and in this respect, a full discussion would necessarily consider, amongst others, Porada's study.⁴⁰ However, to make some brief points, the artwork of the sarcophagus depicts the king

with the establishment of a place of worship within an Etruscan temple at Pyrgi for the use of a community of Phoenician traders who had settled in that port."

³⁶ Avishur 2000, p. 112 (his italics).

³⁷ Avishur 2000, pp. 112-113.

³⁸ Stéphan 1985, p. 38.

³⁹ Gibson 1982, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Porada 1973. That article includes line drawings of the artwork.

(probably deified in some manner) on a sphinx throne, and holding a lotus — perhaps a symbol of his immortality. The lotus seems to be reversed.⁴¹ In Egypt, the water lilies known as the “lotus” became associated with the sun rising and setting each day, and in a funerary context thus stood for rebirth. The sun was even on occasion referred to as the “great lotus who appeared from Nun”.⁴² The Book of the Dead contains spells to become a lotus, “and thus (*sc.* to come) into the reality of resurrection”.⁴³ In a funerary context, it was thus “a symbol of rebirth”. That it is reversed may indicate that the king is dead and hence enjoying a life unlike our own.

Du Mesnil Du Buisson suggests that the lions of the sarcophagus are symbols of immortality.⁴⁴ In a forthcoming study, I contend that this suggestion is probably correct, at least in respect of the lions on the sarcophagus lid (there are also lions at the foot of the artefact). In the case of the Aḥiram sarcophagus, the lions on the lid of the sarcophagus are shown *in conjunction* with the two males holding their lotuses. Taken together, this would seem to support the interpretation of the lotus and lion symbolism.

The Aḥiram inscription in its context upon the artefact, points then, to a firm belief that the deceased is living in eternity (*b ʿlm*) and strongly expresses a horror at the notion that the sarcophagus might be reused and, one infers, robbed.

The Cypriote inscription is in very poor condition. The name of the deceased has not survived, and it is not known whether the person was royal or not. However, the surviving lines, although difficult to read, seem to advise that the coffin is not worth robbing, together with a curse formula.⁴⁵ That imprecation uses an interesting expression against anyone destroying the inscription. Although the critical lines are fragmentary, it seems to warn that the curse will work itself upon the violators *bn yd b ʿl wbn yd ʿdm*: “by the hand of Baal or by the hand of man”.⁴⁶

There is nothing in this inscription explicating a belief in survival after death, except, again, the possible inference from the obsession with putting off despoilers by both trying to persuade them that it is not worth their effort, and threatening them with divine wrath and human revenge.

⁴¹ Dussaud 1930, p. 182.

⁴² Morenz 1973, p. 179.

⁴³ Wilkinson 1992, p. 121.

⁴⁴ Du Mesnil Du Buisson 1973, pp. 58–59 and note to figure 21.

⁴⁵ Gibson 1982, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Gibson 1982, p. 29, with note to line 4 on p. 30.

The Byblian inscription of an unknown ruler (known as “Byblos 13”) is also fragmentary. However, the first two lines are interesting for comparison with the Bitnoam text. They read:⁴⁷

(1) ...b']rn 'nk lhdy wkn hn 'nk škb b'rn zn 'sp bmr wbdl[h....

(2) ... bl⁴⁸ lpth 'lt 'rn zn wlrgez 'šmy h'g ytbqšn h'dr wdkl dr[m...

Krahmalkov translates the first line as “I alone..., and so here I lie in this coffin, <my bones> gathered and <treated> with myrrh and bdellium.”⁴⁹ The first clause of the second line is rendered as “Do not open this resting-place <and> disturb my bones!”⁵⁰ However, Krahmalkov does not appear to essay the second clause here, at least not under the key words 'g, *bqš*, 'dr, and *dr*. Röhlig is not certain, and tentatively translates, “*der mächtige Og wird mich rächen* und unter allen Geschl[echtern...”.⁵¹

Of possible significance for a contextual interpretation of the Bitnoam inscription is the mention in line 4 of 'qn'. Krahmalkov accepts that the reference here is to “lapis lazuli”, and translates the phrase *mkt* 'qn' 'gn as “I shall cover / roof it with a cover / lid of lapis-lazuli” and notes that the context is unclear and the translation “problematic”.⁵² Why a funerary text would contain such a statement of intention is a moot point. Röhlig's translation is not any more helpful.⁵³ As Röhlig properly concedes, the impossibility of construing the connotation of the word is a function of the fragmentary text and the resulting lack of context.⁵⁴ Were the deceased declaring that his coffin contained lapis lazuli, this would provide some analogy to the Bitnoam inscription. However, the surviving text would appear to tell against such a reading, for the next line seems to be speaking about his trading ventures.

The inscription of the son of Šipitb'l is very fragmentary, but it does open by declaring that he was the son of Šipitb'l the king of Byblos, and thus provides the first of Avishur's elements of the Phoenician funerary inscription: self-presentation. The balance of the inscription, while in very poor state, can reasonably be reconstructed as having warned off anyone

⁴⁷ Röhlig 1974, p. 2.

⁴⁸ The transcription is taken from Röhlig 1974, p. 2, but for the “*bl*” at the start of the line, which is plausibly restored by Krahmalkov 2000, p. 442.

⁴⁹ This is a composite stitched together from the translations of the two clauses of this line, Krahmalkov 2000, pp. 254 and 311.

⁵⁰ Krahmalkov 2000, p. 442.

⁵¹ Röhlig 1974, p. 2 (his italics).

⁵² Krahmalkov 2000, pp. 69 and 141. However, DNWSI vol. 1, p. 100 notes that in this inscription the meaning of the word is unknown.

⁵³ “Betrag an Lapislazuli / Purpur...”, Röhlig 1974, p. 2.

from opening it or disturbing his bones. At the very least, the words *zn lrgz ʿšmy* (“this one, disturbing my bones”) are clear, and as one can see from line 2 of the Byblos 13 above, there can be no doubt of the context. The references to the deities at the close of the inscription appear to have been part of a curse formula. It seems to have gone on to say something about his deeds, but the text is not sufficient to make out the contents.⁵⁵

The Tabnit inscription declares that the deceased was a priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians, and the son of Eshmunazor, who was himself likewise both priest and king. It asseverates that the coffin should not be opened as it contains no silver nor gold (*hṛs*), that to do so is an abomination (*ʿbt*)⁵⁶ to Astarte, and ends with a curse formula. Gibson observes, probably correctly, that the declaration that grave robbing is a *ʿbt* or “abomination” is an “exceptionally strong warning”.⁵⁷ His son Eshmunazor’s sarcophagus similarly states that it contains nothing valuable, and should not be opened. It contains an extensive curse formula to support this sentiment, including both royalty and commoner in its maledictory scope.⁵⁸ It should be noted that Tabnit’s inscription has eight complete lines, and Eshmunazor’s comprises 22 relatively lengthy lines.

Comparison and contrast

The Bitnoam inscription is one of the few surviving pieces of the Phoenician funerary tradition. As such, it is in a privileged position to inform us about Phoenician attitudes to death, and hence, of Phoenician culture generally. As Metcalf and Huntington observe in their anthropological study of diverse mortuary rituals:

... the issue of death throws into relief the most important cultural values by which people live their lives and evaluate their experiences. Life becomes transparent against the background of death, and fundamental social and cultural issues are revealed.⁵⁹

What then, emerges from a comparative study of these Phoenician inscriptions? As Stéphan notes, the Bitnoam inscription is the only instance

⁵⁴ Röllig 1974, p. 9.

⁵⁵ KAI, vol. II, p. II.

⁵⁶ Krahmalkov 2000, p. 496. DNWSI vo. 2, p. 1225 observes that the absolute form is probably “*ʿbb*”, while “*ʿbt*” is the construct state.

⁵⁷ Gibson 1982, p. 105.

⁵⁸ There is a handy English translation in Gibson 1982, p. 107.

⁵⁹ Metcalf and Huntington 1991, p. 25.

in the entire Phoenician funerary textual corpus which provides any description at all of the deceased.⁶⁰ One must qualify this by observing that the Aḥiram sarcophagus depicts both Aḥiram and Ittobaal his son. However, neither that, nor any other surviving text offers any description of the deceased to compare with that of the Bitnoam inscription. In none of the surviving portions of text does anyone describe how they are dressed: it seems sufficient to state that they were the king or the king and priest. Byblos 13 refers to the fact that the deceased is immured in myrrh and bdellium.

The Aḥiram inscription states only that the deceased was King of Byblos. The two Sidonian inscriptions apart, the others are too fragmentary to provide any relevant information. Tabnit tells us that he was priest of Astarte and king of the Sidonians, his father's name, and that his father was likewise both priest and king.

Eshmunazor II provides the same details for himself, with much more. He mentions that he died at a time which was not his time (*bl^cty*), and that he prepared his own resting place. He also names his mother. Far more extensive, however, is his list of achievements in building temples, and his acquisition of Dor and Joppa for unspecified actions.⁶¹ As noted, there may be something similar in the inscription of the son of Šipitb^cl, but the text is too fragmentary to allow certainty.

None, however, mention their accoutrement. This reticence may well have been due to the deceased's fear of the disturbance of their coffins and the expropriation of their inscriptions. However, two things emerge: first, whatever the reasons for this omission, they were not operative in Bitnoam's case. And secondly, as Dunand saw, by declaring that there was gold in her coffin, Bitnoam was expressing both her pride in her own state, and contempt for anything which might happen to her after her death. None of the other inscriptions are contemporary with Bitnoam's but they are fairly close: we have examples from Byblos and Sidon which express a strong desire that they not be interfered with. In fact, the unattributed Byblian inscription may implicitly be stating that there is nothing in the coffin but an embalmed corpse. The text is too damaged to be sure.

It is particularly significant, however, that the Bitnoam inscription is not only complete, but was meant to be so. This is where the dimensions and appearance of the sarcophagus become relevant. It will be recalled that it

⁶⁰ Stéphan 1985, p. 224.

⁶¹ There is a relatively extensive literature on this inscription, but it is not relevant to here.

was a superb piece of craftsmanship, hewn out of quality marble. Substantial as it is, only one line of text was engraved, and care was clearly taken that it would not detract from the elegant appearance of the sarcophagus, for the finely carved letters were not over one centimetre in height except where the extremity of a letter might stand above the line.⁶²

That is, Bitnoam's silence as to any fears, apprehensions or even hopes must have been intentional. Given the terms of the other surviving Phoenician inscriptions, it is unlikely that this was a reflection of anyone's idiosyncrasy but the queen's — and whether she was the wife of a king or not, she was a royal lady, and compared herself with queens before her. The only conclusion to draw from the absence of a curse formula, and the virtual incitement to grave spoiling from her mention of gold, can be that the deceased was indifferent to what might happen to her sarcophagus and even her corpse, after her burial. In turn, this suggests that she may have been sceptical that there was any afterlife.

That there was a Phoenician belief in an afterlife is not in doubt. It is sufficient here to point out that our two Sidonian inscriptions explicitly refer to a *mškb ʾt rp'm* — “rest with the *rp'm*”.⁶³ Nothing in the Bitnoam text explicitly denies the possibility of survival after death, but it implicitly is unconcerned about what may happen to her body afterwards. To rephrase Metcalf and Huntington, the important cultural values by which Bitnoam lived her life and evaluated her experiences seem to be entirely related to making a splendid show and being treated like the queens of Byblos before her. It may be that the *mḥsm* provides evidence of a belief that demons could enter her corpse. But, for the reasons given above, there is simply no evidence on this point. In any event, as Swiggers points out, the emphasis in this inscription is on having a golden stopper (and the other items) just like the queens before her.⁶⁴

There is good reason to think that amongst the Phoenicians the preservation of the deceased's bones was vital. Not only was it mentioned often in the inscriptions, but there is reason to think that the Phoenician concept was similar to that which many have discerned in Israel, that: “So long as the bones are intact, even a dead man retains a minimal existence.”⁶⁵

However, in common with the other inscriptions — in so far as they have survived intact — we know that Bitnoam did declare who she was.

⁶² Dunand 1933, pp. 151-152.

⁶³ Krahmalkov 2000, pp. 315-316 for translation. The relevant lines are in Tabnit 8 (KAI 6) and Eshmunazor 8 (KAI 14).

⁶⁴ Swiggers 1980, pp. 115-116.

⁶⁵ Keel 1978, p. 66.

She did not state her father's name, but did give those of her husband and son. Thus, by situating the deceased within the royal family, the text does, to this extent, place itself within the genre of the Phoenician royal funerary inscription. That is, it possesses the first of Avishur's three basic parts of the Phoenician funerary inscription. However, it lacks the third (the warning and curse), and so far from exhibiting the second (the declaration that there are no treasures), it would seem to flaunt the omission.⁶⁶

The Bitnoam inscription is of significance in several respects. It is an intrinsically interesting and individualistic text in a little attested language. Scholars have paid expert attention to its lexical and syntactic points. If my interpretation of the inscription is correct, then while it recognizably belongs to the genre of the Phoenician funerary inscription, it extends that genre in three ways: it expresses no belief in an afterlife; it has no curse formula at all; and it declares that Bitnoam is as well dressed and ornamented as previous queens. Together, these suggest that the deceased may have been concerned for her honour and appearances as she went into her sarcophagus, but was indifferent to what might befall her coffin, her body, and specifically, her bones. It is at least possible that she did not have any belief in an afterlife. To express this point another way, the greater the horror expressed by other royal Phoenicians at the abomination of grave tampering, the more remarkable is Bitnoam's silence. She was, perhaps, a 'grande dame'.

Further research

The presence of scepticism in the royal family of Byblos in about 350 BCE might strike one as quite surprising: it was still novel in Greece, and we tend to think of the Greeks as more advanced in such an area than their Asian contemporaries. But it is one more sign that scholars may have underrated the sophistication of Phoenician thought. This may prove significant for the study of Philo of Byblos. It may well be that there did exist — at least in some quarters — a world view in which the gods played no role, even if Philo exaggerated its antiquity. That Bitnoam refers to her son's role as *khn b'lt* does not tell against this. This may be no more than boasting that he held this important position, like other kings of Byblos.

As the brief reference to Fowler's study of genre showed, the fact that Bitnoam's inscription extends the genre shows that that literature was not

⁶⁶ Avishur does not refer to these matters, although he does twice refer to the Bitnoam inscription: Avishur 2000, pp. 106 and 116.

moribund. A review of all the Phoenician funerary inscriptions, considering both the text and artefact, will show that small as the class of that literature is, it displays impressive variety within its parameters. Such a review promises further interesting disclosures.

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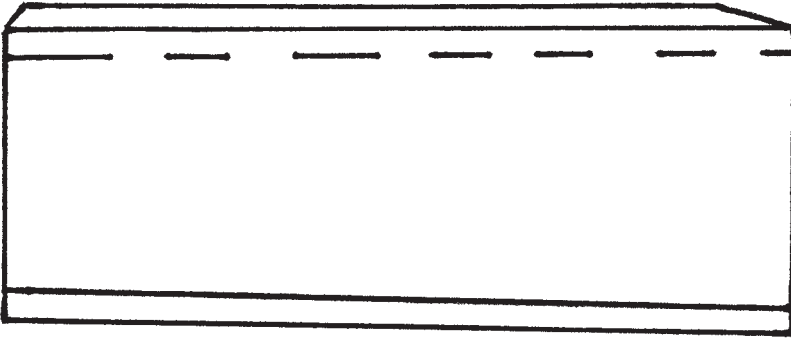


Fig. 1 From M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I (Atlas), pl. XXVIII, the sarcophagus of Bitnoam. It measures 2.2 m (width) by 0.8 meters high.



Fig. 2 M. Dunand's illustration of the cross-section of the transverse of the Bitnoam sarcophagus. From *Kemi* 4 (1931), p. 152.

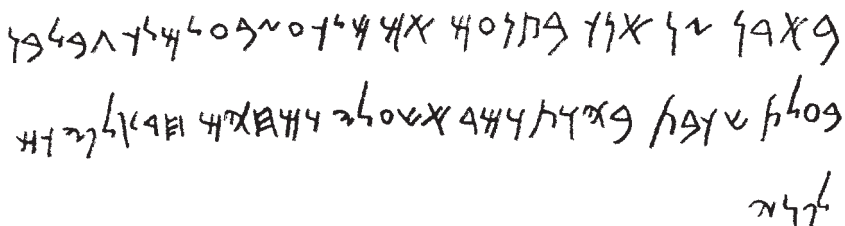


Fig. 3 M. Dunand's hand written reproduction of the text located on the Bitnoam sarcophagus. From *Kemi* 4(1931), p. 152.

Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays: The Man and His Role in Early Shī'ite History

Khalid SINDAWI

Department of Arabic Language and Literature
Haifa University,
ISRAEL

Fax: + 972 4 6980667

E-mail: sindawe@netvision.net.il

Abstract

*The purpose of the present study is to survey the life and deeds of an important Shī'ite personality, al-Mu'allā b. Khunays, a companion of the Sixth Imām (in Twelver Shī'ism), Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, one who has not, as far as we are aware, had any scholarly work devoted to him until now. In this study we analyze the role of Al-Mu'allā in the propagation of early Shī'ite thought through an examination of his life, his close relations with Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, and the enrichment of Shī'ite philosophy and jurisprudence in a number of domains as a result of these relations.**

A biographical sketch of Al-Mu'allā bin Khunays

Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays (agnomen Abū 'Abd Allāh) was born in the vicinity of the Iraqi city of Al-Kūfa¹ (and is thus referred to by the attribute Al-Kūfī). His precise year of birth is not known. According to available literary sources about his years in Al-Kūfa he began his life as a client of the Banū 'Asad² and worked as a draper.

Al-Mu'allā was an enthusiastic supporter of the cause of the descendants of the Imām 'Alī (*Ahl al-bayt*). He devoted most of his life to propagating

* I am indebted to Professor George Kanazi for his helpful comments on this article.

¹ On Al-Kūfa, see Djait, 1986.

² On the Banū Asad, see Kindermann, 1986.

the Shi'ite cause and lived in close proximity to the Imāms of his time. At first he attached himself to the *mughīriyya*³ sect, led by Al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī⁴ (d. 737 CE) and later to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, known as "The Pure Soul"⁵ (*al-naḥs al-zakiyya*) (d. 762 CE). We do not know when he left the latter in order to join the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq⁶ in Al-Madīna,⁷ where he became one of his most ardent followers and remained at the Imām's side until his was killed in the year 133/750 CE. This latter period, spent in the Imām's vicinity, was the most important in his life. Significant details of the role he played then have been preserved in various sources, as we shall show below.

Children

Al-Mu'allā was married. We do not know how many children he had. The names of two of his children are mentioned in historical sources: Bishr⁸ and Sulaymān; in view of his cognomen, it is likely that he also had a child named 'Abd Allāh.⁹

Family

Some members of his family are mentioned in "books of personalities" (*kutub al-rijāl*), among them a brother, Al-Ḥasan b. Khunays,¹⁰ and a nephew or cousin, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Daylam al-Ghanawī.¹¹ The latter was probably Al-Mu'allā's nephew rather than his cousin;¹² he had another cousin, named Sulaymān.¹³

Al-Mu'allā's status as a source of *ḥadīth*

It is a curious fact that although Al-Mu'allā was highly regarded by Al-Ṣādiq, who relied on him and trusted¹⁴ him (see below), some "books of personalities" cast doubt on his reliability as a transmitter of traditions (*muḥaddith*),

³ See Madelung, 1993.

⁴ See Tucker, 1975.

⁵ See Von Arendonk, 1960; Al-Zirkilī, 1986, 6:220.

⁶ See Hodgson, 1986.

⁷ On Al-Madīna, see Winder, 1986.

⁸ Ibn Abū al-Ḥadīd, 1967, 18:55–56.

⁹ Al-Ghaḍā'irī, 1944, 3:169.

¹⁰ Al-Kishshī, 1929, p. 304, no. 753.

¹¹ Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 245, no. 19.

¹² Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 24.

¹³ Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 225, no. 4.

¹⁴ Al-Ṭūsī, 1990, p. 347; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 259, no. 1.

describing traditions with his name as transmitter, as “very weak” and as “not to be depended upon”.¹⁵

Al-Ḥillī, without going into details, claims that the reason for this lies in the fact that some extreme Shiʿite groups inserted many tendentious traditions in his name.¹⁶ Some sources claim that Al-Muʿallā ascribed certain of his own sayings to Al-Ṣādiq because he was not himself of a well-known lineage. Thus Al-Kishshī informs us that people in Al-Madīna referred to him as “that Iraqi”,¹⁷ a term which connotes both scorn and condescension.

While Al-Muʿallā clearly played an important role in the career of the Imām Al-Ṣādiq, due to the circumstances of his times his actions were of necessity veiled in secrecy and performed with discretion. For this reason the sunnite Muslim was usually not aware of the fact that he was either a devoted adherent of Al-Ṣādiq or that he transmitted traditions concerning that Imām. In fact, all that was usually known about him was that he was from Iraq and that he moved to Al-Madīna. This may explain why the traditions which he transmitted have been considered of doubtful authenticity. Nevertheless, whatever his status among Muslims in general as a transmitter of traditions, he was undoubtedly a unique figure among Shiʿite transmitters, one of many whose reports are quoted very frequently in the major books of Shiʿism.

Al-Muʿallā is quoted as transmitting various sayings of the Imām Al-Ṣādiq, including answers to questions of all kinds posed to him by Al-Muʿallā. However, there is no way to determine with certainty whether he actually did transmit every saying ascribed to Al-Ṣādiq in these traditions, or whether some or even many were spuriously ascribed to him at a later date.

Other personalities whose sayings Al-Muʿallā transmitted are: Abū Ṣāmit,¹⁸ Al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar,¹⁹ and Yūnis b. Ḍabyān.²⁰ Among those who transmitted in his name are: Ishāq b. ʿAmmār Al-Ṣayrafi,²¹ Jamīl b. Darrāj,²²

¹⁵ Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 417; Al-Ghaḍāʾirī, 1944, 3:169; Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 516, no. 490.

¹⁶ Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 259, no. 1.

¹⁷ Al-Kishshī, 1929, p. 377, no. 707.

¹⁸ See Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 326, no. 4883 – 24.

¹⁹ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 518, no. 497; p. 549; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 34; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 321–329, no. 581–588.

²⁰ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, pp. 527–528, no. 548; pp. 550–551; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 30; Al-Ghaḍāʾirī, 1944, 6:284; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 323, no. 4829 – 46; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 363–365, nos. 672–575; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 266, no. 2; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 448, no. 1210.

²¹ See Al-Barqī, 1964, pp. 28, 47; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 200, no. 1; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 72, no. 169.

²² Ibn Dāwūd, p. 92, nos. 342, 358; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 41; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 334, no. 4964 – 4; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 34, no. 1; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 251–252, nos. 467–468; Al-Najāshī, 1986, pp. 126–127, no. 328.

Ḥarīz b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sijistānī,²³ Abū Khadīja Sālim b. Mukarram al-Kūfī al-Jammāl,²⁴ Mu'allā Abū 'Uthmān,²⁵ 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ya'fūr,²⁶ Yaḥyā al-Ḥillī,²⁷ Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī²⁸ and others.

Al-Mu'allā the ascetic

It appears that Al-Mu'allā led a life of abstinence²⁹ and devoted himself to seclusion and prayer. On feast days he would go out into the desert disheveled, covered with dust, and give himself over to abject prayer, asking for God's forgiveness.³⁰

Al-Mu'allā's standing with the Imām Al-Ṣādiq

Shi'ite sources agree that the Imām Al-Ṣādiq considered Al-Mu'allā a laudable person who followed in his footsteps. Al-Ṣādiq had a great many followers in his day, many of whom are mentioned in Shi'ite sources. However, it is not always possible to determine just where each of these lived and the precise degree of sincere devotion each felt toward the Imām. It would appear that he possessed an elementary method for maintaining contact with his followers. Here one problem facing modern scholars is that the Shi'ites were organized in a clandestine manner at the time, and also that there was not just one single organization, but rather a number of competing ones. To this we must add the fact that very many of those who transmitted sayings in the name of Al-Ṣādiq were far from being sympathetic to his cause. Indeed, some sources quote them as being among the Imām's companions whereas in fact many of them, although in favor of the cause of the house of 'Alī, were not adherents of Shi'ism. It is therefore usu-

²³ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 102, no. 388; p. 438, no. 110; p. 543; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 63, no. 4; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 383–385, nos. 717–719; Al-Najāshī, 1986, pp. 144–145, no. 375.

²⁴ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, pp. 382, 390, 544, 546; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 33; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 217, no. 2878 – 116; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 227, no. 2; p. 271; Al-Kishshī, 1929, p. 353, no. 661; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 188, no. 501.

²⁵ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, pl. 348, no. 1546; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 168, no. 1; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 417, no. 1115.

²⁶ See pp. 8–9 below.

²⁷ See Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 323, no. 4823 – 40; p. 346, no. 5166 – 10; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 182, no. 12; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 444, no. 1199.

²⁸ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 368, no. 1645; p. 384; Al-Barqī, 1964, pp. 34–48; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 179, no. 2; Al-Kishshī, 1929, p. 218, no. 501; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 435, no. 1165.

²⁹ On asceticism see Goillot, 2002.

³⁰ Al-Nūrī, 1988, 6:146–147, no. 6660 – 1; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 381–382, no. 715.

³¹ Lalani, 2004, p. 148.

ally quite difficult to differentiate between those who merely transmitted Al-Šādiq's sayings and those who were truly followers of his³¹.

Among the pieces of evidence in historical sources for Al-Šādiq's warm feelings toward Al-Mu'allā are the following:

- A. When Al-Mu'allā came in the company of Khālid b. 'Uqba to visit Al-Šādiq he gave both of them permission to enter. Then he greeted them and said to them: "You are the first hearts in God".
- B. Al-Mu'allā accompanied Al-Šādiq on a clandestine visit to the tomb of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in Najaf. 'Alī as we all know was killed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam al-Murādī (d. 660 CE) in Kūfa and buried very late at night in order that the location of his grave not become publicly known. His family continued to keep the site a secret, known only among them selves. The main reason for keeping the burial and the grave site a secret would appear to have been the fact that 'Alī himself had expressly made a request to that effect before he died. An additional factor may have been the fear lest his corpse be abused by his enemies, the *khawārij* and the Umayyad dynasty.

According to this tradition Al-Šādiq knew the location of 'Alī's tomb and went to visit it at night with just Al-Mu'allā as companion, in order to preserve the secret of the site's location from the general public. From this we can infer that Al-Mu'allā was in the confidence of Al-Šādiq, who trusted him to the point of revealing well-guarded secrets to him.

- C. Al-Mu'allā accompanied Al-Šādiq when the latter distributed alms³² to the needy.

Al-Šādiq renders legal opinions to Al-Mu'allā

In the times of the Imām Ja'far al-Šādiq religious strife became ever more vehement and brought about dissention and discord. People began to entertain doubts about various aspects of the belief in the Imāms and to raise many questions on issues of religious jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Shī'ites as we know reject the ancient schools of jurisprudence which are accepted by the rest of the Islāmic nation and instead consider the sayings of the Imāms of the House of 'Alī as the true source of jurisprudence.

Shī'ism in the period in question was going through extraordinary times, and it is therefore only natural that the followers of Ja'far al-Šādiq and of the Imāms who preceded him should have treated the Imāms' opinions with great respect and obeyed their religious rulings. This is the context in which Al-Mu'allā's sought Al-Šādiq's counsel on various religious matters, such as the interpretation of Qur'anic verses,³³ among others. Subsequently

³² On alms in Islām see Weir 1995.

³³ See, for example, the Imām's commentary on Q 58:4 in Al-Kulaynī, 1946, 1:277, no. 4; or Q 50:28 in the following sources: Al-Nu'mānī, 1976, p. 232, no. 16; Al-Šaffār, 1983, p. 13,

Al-Şādiq's rulings on Al-Mu'allā's questions became an inseparable part of Shī'ite dogma; they were written into the Shī'ite books on the theoretical foundations (*uṣūl*) and the practical application (*furū'*) of Islāmic jurisprudence and were considered legitimate sources for legal rulings.

Thus, for example, Al-Mu'allā sought Al-Şādiq's ruling on the interpretation of numerous Qur'anic verses, among them Q 58:4 and 50:28. Among the fundamental issues of jurisprudence on which he sought the Imām's advice we may mention questions concerning the Twelfth Imām,³⁴ duties of a believer³⁵ toward his fellows,³⁶ and many other matters which considerations of space prevent us from discussing.

As for matters of practical jurisprudence (*furū'*), Al-Mu'allā sought Al-Şādiq's rulings on numerous issues. We cannot of course discuss here all the traditions about rulings which Al-Şādiq gave Al-Mu'allā. Among the issues which these rulings address we may mention the following:

- Witnesses to a temporary marriage (*mu'ta*).³⁷
- The *siwāk* (A piece of a branch or root of a tree that is used as a toothbrush; also called *miswāk*).³⁸

An examination of extant traditions about juridical rulings of Al-Şādiq on questions brought before him by Al-Mu'allā reveals that the latter was more concerned with practical applications of the law (*furū'*) than with fundamental principles (*uṣūl*).

It is well-known, of course, that among Shī'ites the Imām is considered the source of sure guidance whenever a case comes up for which tradition has no answer, or the matter concerns a novel development which tradition could not know. Shī'ites would apply directly to their Imām in order to get a ruling on any question of religious jurisprudence, a solution which was

no. 1; p. 41, no. 15; Al-Qummī, 1983, 1:383; Ibn Bābawayh, no date, 1:210, no. 108; Al-Ḥusaynī, 1988, p. 413; Ibn Bābawayh, 1977, p. 351, no. 17.

³⁴ The Twelfth Imām is Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan (the Hidden Imām), known also by the agnomina *Al-Mahdī*, *Hujjat Allāh*, *Baqiyat Allāh* and *Şāhib al-zamān*. His cognomen is Abū al-Qāsim. For more on the Twelfth Imām see Amir-Moezzi, 1994, p. 174, no. 235; Ter Haar, 1993, 7:443.

³⁵ We should point out that the word "believer" (*mu'min*) has in Shī'ite usage the meaning of "a believing Shī'ite", in contrast to the term Muslim, which is used to refer to Sunnis, who do not believe in the doctrine of the Shī'ite Imāmate. For more information on this issue see Al-Kulaynī, 1946, 2:27–28, nos. 1–2; Amir-Moezzi, 1994, p. 146, no. 43.

³⁶ Al-Mufid, 1992a, p. 28; Al-Daylamī, 1987, p. 254; Al-Rāwindī, 1985, p. 226.

³⁷ Al-Ṭūsī, 1946, 7:261, no. 56; *ibid.*, 1970, 3:148, no. 2; Al-Nūrī, 1988, 14:469, no. 17324 – 2; Al-Ash'arī, 1987, p. 84, no. 191.

³⁸ Al-Kulaynī, 1946, 2:23, no. 6. For more details on the term *siwāk* see Rispler-Chaim, 1992, pp. 13–20.

no longer available after the Twelfth Imām disappeared. At any rate, we can infer from this that the Qurʾān and tradition are not sufficient by themselves and cannot be the sole sources of jurisprudence. A “true interpreter” is needed as well, and that is a function that can only be fulfilled by the Imām of the times.³⁹

Miracles performed by Jaʿfar al-Šādiq in the presence of Al-Muʿallā b. Khunays

Twelver Shīʿites believe that their Imām is capable of performing miracles,⁴⁰ in contrast to the Sunnis, who claim that miracles can only be performed by prophets. The motivation that lies behind this claim is the Shīʿite desire to affirm the Imām’s status and his right to his position. The Imām Jaʿfar Al-Šādiq has had more miracles attributed to him than any other Imām. Thus Al-Majlisī (d. 1698 CE) in his *Bihār al-anwār* recounts 227 traditions that relate miracles ascribed to him, a number which is surpassed by none, save ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib himself.⁴¹ One should thus not wonder that some of these miracles were performed on or in the presence of Al-Muʿallā b. Khunays.

Two miracles of this kind are related in our sources.

The first miracle:⁴²

It is related that Al-Muʿallā complained to Al-Šādiq that he missed his family, which he had left behind in Kūfa, and expressed his keen desire to see it again after he had heard that a plague had swept through Iraq. When he heard this Al-Šādiq miraculously caused Al-Muʿallā to go instantly from Al-Madīna to his family in Kūfa (hundreds of miles away). This Al-Šādiq did by telling Al-Muʿallā to face in the direction of Kūfa. He then rubbed his face⁴³ and immediately Al-Muʿallā found himself in his home in Kūfa,

³⁹ Lālānī, 2004, p. 166, fn. 20.

⁴⁰ On miracles in Shīʿite thought see, for example, Loebenstein, 2003, pp. 199–244; Momen, 1985, p. 23; Jafri, 1979, p. 294; Gramlich, 1987, p. 39; Gardet, 1978; Amir-Moezzi, 2000, pp. 251–286; Kohlberg, 2003, pp. 125–157.

⁴¹ Compare this number, for example, with the chapter on the miracles of the Imām Al-Bāqir (Vol. 46) in which 89 traditions are related, taking up 35 pages; the Imām Al-Qāṣim (Vol. 48), with 106 traditions taking up 71 pages; the Imām Al-ʿAskarī (Vol. 50) with 81 traditions taking up 58 pages. For more details see Amir-Moezzi, 2000, pp. 259–260.

⁴² For more detail on this miracle see Al-Nūrī, 1988, 12:297, no. 14132 – 3 and, based on him, also Al-Majlisī, 1984, 2:71; Al-Ṭabarī, 1963, pp. 136, 138; Al-Qummī, 1984, p. 403; Al-Kishshī, 1929, p. 378; Al-Bahrānī, 1992, 5:228–233, nos. 1591/21 – 1596/26; Al-Mufid, 1992b, p. 323; Al-Šaqqār, 1983, p. 406; Al-Ṭabarī, 1963.

⁴³ Passing the hand over the face of a person involved or present was very frequently used by Shīʿite Imāms when performing a miracle. Of course, this was not a measure invented by

surrounded by his family. He stayed there for a short time until he saw that they were all well. He had intercourse with his wife and then Al-Ṣādiq returned him to Al-Madīna at the same speed as when he had sent him there.

In this miracle Al-Ṣādiq is described as being able to see where Al-Mu'allā's house in far-away Kūfa was located, and to have him travel a great distance in an instant.

The second miracle:⁴⁴

One time Al-Mu'allā came to Al-Ṣādiq. Al-Ṣādiq saw that he was crying and asked him why. He answered that there were some people at the gate who claimed that the Prophet's family (*āl al-bayt*) did not possess any special merit and did not differ from everyone else. Thereupon Al-Ṣādiq was silent. Then he ordered a plate of dates to be brought to him. From it he took one date, which he split into two. He ate the fruit and planted the seed in the ground. It sprouted and brought forth unripe dates. He took one, split it in two, ate it, and brought out of it a piece of parchment which he handed to Al-Mu'allā and told him to read it. On it was written: "In the name of Allāh the kind the merciful; there is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh, 'Alī, Al-Ḥasan, Al-Ḥusayn, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn", and so on, listing all the (names of the twelve Imāms) until Ḥasan b. 'Alī and his son (the hidden Imām).

In this miracle Al-Ṣādiq demonstrates to Al-Mu'allā that he is able to see things which ordinary mortals cannot. The Imām performs this miracle in his presence in order to demonstrate that he is indeed a legitimate Imām and that he is a worker of miracles like the other Imāms of the Prophet's family, who are all superior to other men.

The relationship between 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ya'fūr and Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq lived in Al-Madīna, where he had a number of followers, while others lived in Mecca, Basra, Kūfa and Damascus. According to our sources Kūfa in particular was a city in which many adherents of the Imām lived. We cannot of course discuss every one of the Imām's supporters who achieved renown and contributed to advancing the cause of the Imāmate.

them; in fact, it was quite commonly encountered in many places before the advent of Islam. See Kohlberg, 2003, pp. 150–151; Lefébure, 1905, p. 207; Fahd, 1968, p. 27; Goldziher, 1906, p. 327.

⁴⁴ Al-Rāwandī, 1986, 2:624–625.

Nor will space allow us to mention every tradition on the matter, or even only those of evident value and interest. We shall instead limit ourselves to examining a number of traditions which will enable us to shed light on a number of people who were probably on intimate terms with the Imām.

Among his more important followers was a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ya'fūr al-'Abdī,⁴⁵ who was also close to Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays. 'Abd Allāh was a reader of the Qur'ān in the mosque of Kūfa and a very close associate of the Imām. He is frequently cited as the source of traditions concerning Al-Ṣādiq and is considered a reliable and trustworthy transmitter. According to some sources he was a disciple of this Imām, and before that of his father, the Imām Al-Bāqir. 'Abd Allāh died in the Imām's lifetime. The Imām attended his funeral and is reported to have said this about him: "Nowhere have I found anyone so heedful and obedient to me as 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ya'fūr".

'Abd Allāh and Al-Mu'allā were contemporaries and probably close friends. They may even have known each other in Kūfa. More than once they worked together to disseminate the Shī'ite creed on the orders of Al-Ṣādiq. On one of these occasions they had a dispute about certain matters of faith, and asked Al-Ṣādiq to adjudicate between them. Among the issues they disagreed on were the status of the "legatees" (*awṣiyā'*)⁴⁶ or Imāms and whether it was permitted to eat the slaughtered meat of Jews and Christians.⁴⁷ It turned out that in every such case the position taken by 'Abd Allāh was the correct one.

The death of Al-Mu'allā

The Abbasid Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr⁴⁸ (d. 775 CE) was informed by a man of the tribe of Quraysh⁴⁹ that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had sent his associate Al-Mu'allā to collect money from members of the Shī'ite community, with the assistance of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh.⁵⁰ Upon hearing this the Caliph became furious and wrote to his uncle Dāwūd b. 'Alī⁵¹ (d. 750 CE), who

⁴⁵ See Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 246-247; Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 197, no. 817; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 230, no. 3106-15; p. 264, no. 3776-685; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 107, no. 25; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 213, no. 556.

⁴⁶ For more on the concept of "legatee" (*waṣī*) see Kohlberg, 1960, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁷ Al-Nūrī, 1988, 16:146-147, no. 19423-4; Al-Mufīd, 1992c, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁸ See Kennedy, 1991.

⁴⁹ See Montgomery, 1986.

⁵⁰ See Buhl, 1993.

⁵¹ See Al-Ziriklī, 1986, 2:333.

was governor of Al-Madīna at the time, commanding him to send Ja'far al-Ṣādiq forthwith to Baghdad. The governor duly told the Imām that he was to present himself to the Caliph. Al-Ṣādiq, accompanied by Ṣafwān b. Mihrān al-Jammāl,⁵² came to Baghdad and presented himself to the Caliph, who interrogated him as to the activities in which Al-Mu'allā was engaged on the Imām's behalf. Al-Ṣādiq denied the accusations against him, and so the Caliph ordered the man who had reported the matter to him to be brought into his presence in order to confront the Imām. When the man came Al-Ṣādiq asked him to swear to the truth of his allegations in his presence. As soon as the man swore he fell down and died. The frightened Caliph immediately released the Imām and invited him to stay on at the court as his honored guest. But the Imām preferred to go back to Al-Madīna.⁵³

At the same time Al-Manṣūr ordered his uncle, governor of Al-Madīna, to keep track of Al-Mu'allā's activities and to put him under arrest. Al-Mu'allā was duly put in prison. The governor wanted to execute him, but the prisoner asked him to be allowed go out before being executed since he had many debts which he wanted to repay. The governor, Dāwūd b. 'Alī, acceded to his request. So Al-Mu'allā went out to the market of Al-Madīna, and when a crowd had gathered around him he said: "My friends, I am Mu'allā b. Khunays, and those of you who know me know who I am. I want you to bear witness that I hereby bequeath all my possessions, whether material objects, debts, slaves or houses, be it much or little, to Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq".⁵⁴

After this the governor had him beheaded and crucified, because of his missionary work for the Shi'ite cause and his ties with Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.⁵⁵

From this tradition we may infer that Al-Mu'allā was quite wealthy. Perhaps he had acquired his wealth while living in Kūfa. We also learn from this tradition that he was in charge of collecting the fifth-tax. What is of importance in the present context is that he was a wealthy man and that he bequeathed this wealth to the Imām for the purpose of furthering the Shi'ite cause, a sure sign of his devotion to both the cause and its leader.

The record shows that Dāwūd b. 'Alī proceeded to expropriate Al-Mu'allā's property after his execution, whereupon Al-Ṣādiq put a curse on him. As

⁵² See Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 45; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 197, no. 525; Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 188, no. 769; Al-Hillī, 1991, p. 90, no. 2; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 227, no. 3064 – 42.

⁵³ Ibn Ṭāwūs, 1990, pp. 198–201; Al-Kulaynī, 1946, 6:446, no. 3; Al-Nūrī, 1988, 16:71–63, no. 19189 – 2.

⁵⁴ Al-Kishshī, 1929, p. 377.

⁵⁵ Al-Ṭūsī, 1990, p. 347.

a result of the curse God sent an angel who smote the governor on his head with an iron bar and killed him on the spot.⁵⁶ According to another tradition his bladder burst and he died.⁵⁷ Still another tradition just reports that he died, without indicating the immediate cause.⁵⁸

Other sources claim that Al-Mu'allā was sentenced to death on a charge of having promoted the cause of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya b. al-Ḥasan, also known as "The Pure Soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyya*). This is in fact highly unlikely to have been the case, for two reasons:

- A. There are just too many reports about Al-Mu'allā's exclusive devotion to the Imām Al-Ṣādiq.
- B. The major events involving Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the spread of his doctrine, the imprisonment of his adherents, his appearance and death, all occurred during the reign of the Caliph Al-Manṣūr (754-775 CE), whereas Al-Mu'allā was executed in the year 750 CE, at the beginning of the reign of the Caliph Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāh,⁵⁹ at a time when the cause of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh was certainly not perceived as being such a threat that he had to be interrogated, and then executed, with his companions. True, Al-Saffāh did often ask about him, but only in passing.

The reason Al-Ṣādiq gave for Al-Mu'allā's death

According to Shi'ite sources Al-Ṣādiq received the news of Al-Mu'allā's death after he returned from Mecca from Al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar,⁶⁰ who entered into his presence and said: "Oh son of the messenger of God, have you not noticed the momentous event which has befallen the Shi'ites today?". The Imām asked him: "What is it?", to which Al-Mufaḍḍal replied: "Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays has been executed". Al-Ṣādiq commented on this as follows: "May God have mercy on Al-Mu'allā. I was expecting this because he had made our secret public, and anyone who does that is doomed to depart from this world by the bite of a weapon or die insane".⁶¹ According to this story, then, Al-Mu'allā revealed some secrets of the Imāms, and for this reason had to die.

⁵⁶ Al-Kulaynī, 1946, 2:513, no. 5; 2:557, no. 5; Al-Āmilī, 1989, 7:132, no. 8927; Al-Nūrī, 1988, 5:258-259, no. 5820 – 1; Ibn Shahrāshūb, 1959, 4:230; Al-Ṣaffār, 1983, p. 283, no. 2.

⁵⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, 1963, p. 114.

⁵⁸ Al-Irbillī, 1961, 2:169; Al-Kaḥmī, 1984, p. 205.

⁵⁹ For more details about Al-Saffāh see Moscati, 1986, 1:103.

⁶⁰ See Al-Ghaḍā'irī, 1944, 6:131; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 34; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 321-329, nos. 851-859; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 416, no. 1112.

⁶¹ Al-Nūrī, 1988, 12:300, no. 14139 – 30. According to another tradition he disobeyed Al-Ṣādiq and therefore merited the sword; for details see Al-Mufid, 1992, pp. 321-322; Al-Ṣaffār, 1983, p. 403.

Thereupon Al-Ṣādiq was filled with rage and in a spontaneous reaction ran immediately out of the house, trailing the bottom of his coat. Together with his son Ismā'īl⁶² he went to Dāwūd b. 'Alī, the governor of Al-Madīna, in order to find out if indeed the report was true, and to punish the governor if had really executed Al-Mu'allā. When he arrived he said to Dāwūd: "You killed my associate and took my property". Dāwūd answered: "It was not I who killed him and I did not take your property".⁶³

According to a third tradition about his death, Ismā'īl b. Jābir⁶⁴ was with Al-Ṣādiq in the vicinity of Mecca. The Imām asked his companion to go to Marra or to 'Uṣfān and to ask the people if anything of importance had happened in Al-Madīna. At Marra Ismā'īl found no one, and he went on to 'Uṣfān, where he saw a camel caravan carrying oil. When he asked there if anything had happened in Al-Madīna they said: "Nothing, except for the execution of that Iraqi called Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays. When Ismā'īl returned to Al-Ṣādiq, the latter spoke to him before he could say a word: "Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays has been killed". Ismā'īl answered: "Yes". To which the Imām replied: "By God, he has entered Paradise".⁶⁵ According to this tradition the Imām foresaw the death of Al-Mu'allā and knew that he would go to heaven.⁶⁶ This ability, to see what ordinary mortals cannot, and to know what happens at great distances, is a characteristic which Shi'ites attribute to all their Imāms.

To summarize the story of Al-Mu'allā's death, we saw three traditions, in all of which Al-Ṣādiq foretold the time and place of the event, expressed his consternation at his death, and announced that he would go to heaven. True, in the second tradition the Imām does not express his sadness at Al-Mu'allā's death; this may be due to considerations of prudence, what the Shi'ites call "dissimulation" (*taqiyya*) for, as we have mentioned above, Shi'ites at the time were forced to keep their organization secret.

Al-Mu'allā's death made a deep impression on Al-Ṣādiq, who in later times mentioned him a number of times and prayed for mercy on his soul.

⁶² See Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 159, no. 1777 – 81.

⁶³ Al-Nūrī, 1988, 5:258, no. 582 -1; Al-Mufid, 1992b, 2:184-185; Al-Ṭabarsī, no date, 1:276-277; Al-Fatṭāl, no date, 1:176; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 28; Al-Hillī, 1991, p. 8, no. 2.

⁶⁴ See Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 24, no. 1246 -18; p. 331, no. 1264 – 18; Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 56, no. 176; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 28; Al-Hillī, 1991, p. 8, no. 2.

⁶⁵ Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 376-382, nos. 707-715. In another tradition he relates that Al-Ṣādiq announced: "I know that Al-Mu'allā will be killed by Dāwūd b. 'Alī, that he will behead him and crucify him". See also Al-Rāwandī, 1989, 2:647; Al-Ṭabarī, 1963, p. 118; Ibn Ṭāwūs, no date, pp. 230-231; Ibn Shahrāshūb, 1959, 4:225.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 18:226, no. 22579 – 1.

It is related, for example, that Al-Walīd b. Ṣabīḥ⁶⁷ came one day into the presence of the Imām and set out his clothes for him. Al-Ṣādiq asked him to fold them up again, which he then did. This reminded the Imām of Al-Mu'allā, and he said: "May God have mercy on Al-Mu'allā b. Khunays."⁶⁸

Conclusion

In this paper we have described a close associate of the Imām Al-Ṣādiq, who left his family in Kūfa and went to live in Al-Madīna in order to promote the Shī'ite cause under the leadership of the Imām. Al-Mu'allā remained relatively unknown in the city of his residence, where he was referred to as "that Iraqi". Perhaps this was so because the dissemination of the Shī'ite creed could only proceed in secrecy in that period.

Many of Al-Ṣādiq's sayings and rulings on matters of law and doctrine have survived in the *ḥadīth* literature, and have remained part of accepted Shī'ite belief and practice to this day.

Al-Mu'allā accompanied his Imām on many occasions, to distribute alms, on a secret visit to the tomb of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and so forth. He witnessed two miracles performed by the Imām, but also found out some of his secrets, and may have revealed them to others, an action which displeased the Imām and led to Al-Mu'allā's death.

Al-Ṣādiq grieved at Al-Mu'allā's death and rebuked the governor of Al-Madīna for having executed him. After his death the Imām would mention him frequently and ask God to have mercy on his soul.

Taken together, what we know about Al-Mu'allā shows that he played a significant role in the life of the Imām Al-Ṣādiq's, and in the dissemination of the Shī'ite creed during this early period.

⁶⁷ See Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 362, no. 1620; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 41; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 316, no. 4706 – 1; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 177, no. 2; Al-Kishshī, 1929, pp. 319–320; Al-Najāshī, 1986, p. 431, no. 1161.

⁶⁸ Al-Kulaynī, 1946, 8:304, no. 469; Al-Barqī, 1964, p. 45; Al-Ḥillī, 1991, p. 73, no. 10; Ibn Dāwūd, 1964, p. 154, no. 609; Al-Ṭūsī, 1995, p. 204, no. 2617 – 22.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Piotr Bienkowski, 2002, *Busayra. Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971-1980*. (British Academy Monographs in Archaeology No. 13). Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 500. 209 figs., 650 plates and 14 tables. ISBN 0-19-727012-3.

This large and well produced volume is a fitting tribute to the late Crystal-M. Bennett, the first significant excavator of the ancient Edomite peoples of Jordan. Piotr Bienkowski, a student of Crystal's and one of the most active fieldworkers in Edomite archaeology, has worked assiduously to bring to final publication Bennett's most important excavation, that of Edom's capital Busayra, Biblical Bozrah.

The volume consists of fourteen chapters, most written or edited by Bienkowski himself. These include an important introduction full of caveats and commentary, a short description of Iron Age settlement patterns in the near hinterland of Busayra by Burton MacDonald, a review of the occurrences of Bozrah in the Bible by John Bartlett, five chapters of detailed stratigraphic analysis (Areas A-D and H), a summary treatment of the critical ceramic corpus by Bienkowski after Marion Oakeshott, with an important contribution by Andrea Berlin, a catalogue of the small finds by Louise Sedman, a discussion of the inscribed material by Alan Millard, shell and marine remains by David Reese, animal bones by Bienkowski and Reese, before finishing with an important stratigraphic and historical summary. Two appendices on chemical analysis (INAA) of ceramics by Jan Gunneweg and Márta Balla, and a selection of the Area A copper objects by Roger Tylecote, and a short but relevant bibliography, make up the 500 pages of what is a thorough and comprehensive publication of Bennett's work.

Bienkowski groups the excavated sequences from each of the main excavated areas into four broad stratigraphic horizons ('Integrated Stages'). Initial occupation (Stage 1) is dated to the late eighth through seventh centuries BC. The first monumental building phase across most areas of the site (Stage 2) spans the seventh through mid-sixth centuries BC, culminating in a series of apparently 'localised' destruction episodes, which Bienkowski tentatively attributed to Nabonidas. The third horizon (Stage 3) is interpreted as one of significant rebuilding across the site, dated by Bienkowski to the Persian through Early Hellenistic periods. This phase ends with a catastrophic site-wide destruction, which Bienkowski controversially suggests should be placed somewhere between 300-200 BC. A final phase (Stage 4) of much more limited activity around site peripheries is dated within the Nabataean through Early Roman periods.

There is much to praise in this publication. It is no easy task to publish material excavated by another person, especially when the records are defective and much time has elapsed between excavation and publication. Bienkowski is frank about the deficiencies in the recording system, which clearly does not meet modern standards. However, the conditions under which the work took place, and the relatively tiny amount of money expended on the excavations make this unsurprising. As Bienkowski acknowledges, Bennett's work at Busayra and elsewhere in southern Jordan is fundamental to all subsequent work on the Edomites.

What follows below are comments on those aspects of the publication which caught this reviewer's eye. They are made acknowledging the very real difficulties Bienkowski faced in presenting the evidence as honestly as the faulty records allowed, while seeking to keep faith with the person who shaped his career in Edomite studies (pp. 44–45).

The five chapters on the stratigraphy and architecture of Areas A–D and H consist of a detailed description of the stratigraphic sequence in each area excavated. The stratigraphic chapters are perhaps over-illustrated by a plethora of small black and white photographs, beautifully re-drawn sections, and wholly inadequate plans. Given the generous scale and undoubted quality of the many re-drawn sections, it beggars belief that there was no effort made to redraw plans at an intelligible scale, given the centrality of architectural discoveries to Bennett's views of site function and find context.

The small scale plans are almost direct copies of Bennett's preliminary sketches offered in short reports nearly thirty years ago.¹ Bienkowski asserts that the surviving records were simply too bad to allow further elaboration. If this were so, then it seems strange that neither of Bennett's reconstruction drawings of the two major structures unearthed in Area A² were reproduced for consideration, especially as Bienkowski felt them worthy of illustration elsewhere,³ where usefully, earlier and later structures are highlighted. Bienkowski is firm in his beliefs about what the evidence will not support, but fails to produce anything like an adequate overview of Bennett's architectural discoveries. This is doubly strange when one considers his views on the proposed function of the Area A and C complexes,⁴ which are at odds with Bennett's own interpretations,⁵ and his sharp disagreement with Hart's analysis of Area D (p. 207).⁶

Bienkowski seems almost unconcerned about the find contexts of the many ceramic and small find types enumerated throughout the report. One might have expected a detailed discussion of what these finds suggested as to room function and relative date, especially as this crucial information is herein made available for the first time. Bennett⁷ has suggested that the earlier of the two structures ('Building B') in Area A closely resembled the main complex in Area C. She also made it clear that a reliable Persian horizon was to be found only in the Area C complex,⁸ strongly implying that this was the latest Iron Age horizon on the site. Reich⁹ reconstructs the two Area A and the Area C complexes along the lines of Bennett's suggestions, viewing the earlier 'Building B' in Area A as a temple, with the Area C structure as its contemporary palace. Reich felt the parallels between the later Area A 'Building A' and Hazor Citadel 3002 favoured the 'Winged Building' being viewed as a Babylonian period fortress. Bienkowski discards this opinion as based on 'superseded information' (p. 94), but nowhere provides the information neces-

¹ Cf. Bennett 1977, figs. 1A–1B; 4.

² Bennett 1977, figs. 2–3.

³ Bienkowski 2001, fig. 10.9–10.

⁴ Bienkowski 1995, 139–142.

⁵ Bennett 1982, pp. 184–187; 1983, pp. 15–16.

⁶ Hart 1995, pp. 244–249.

⁷ Bennett 1982, p. 187.

⁸ Bennett 1983, p. 16.

⁹ Reich 1992, pp. 219–220.

sary for arbitration. Significantly, Reich stressed that the ceramic corpus and finds (when published) would decide the matter.¹⁰

When seeking to interrogate Bienkowski's proposed comparative stratigraphy for the four main areas (A–D), the ceramic corpus is critical. Here one must acknowledge the chief failure of the volume. The detailed pottery catalogue is largely a reproduction of Oakeshott's doctoral study,¹¹ immensely enriched, it must be acknowledged, by the individual context details herein supplied for the first time. However, while Bienkowski provides individual context details, there is no overall phasing information. To find the phase context for each sherd, one must trudge through the descriptive chapters sherd at a time. Having phased the site so diligently, the failure to integrate this hard won knowledge into the catalogue is a very serious failing. Indeed, Bienkowski makes no effort to exploit this wonderful database in the service of his comparative stratigraphic analysis. A type-frequency analysis across each area would have allowed for some interrogation of Bienkowski's arguably forced and very probably wrongheaded phasing of the Busayra strata.

A first attempt at such an analysis reveals immediate problems with Bienkowski's reconstruction. If the Area A structure(s) are all destroyed in the same Early Hellenistic conflagration, it seems strange that the primary white plaster floors in the main storeroom are filled with jars (Jar Type E) dating to the seventh/sixth century BC (pp. 313, 325; figs. 9.47–49). Either there must be a significant later (ie post-seventh century BC) occupation in the area (Bennett's view), or Bienkowski's Early Hellenistic destruction date must be abandoned. We feel Bennett is very probably correct in viewing the storeroom deposit as associated with a distinct early architectural phase (her Building B), probably destroyed in the late seventh/early sixth century BC. The Busayra coarseware type series (especially that from Area A) contains no convincing parallels with post-sixth century BC corpora. Nor is there any support for an Early Hellenistic end-date in the major classes of small finds discussed by Sedman (pp. 353–428).

Bienkowski's suggested Early Hellenistic date for the final destruction of Busayra is based upon the testimony of a handful of small Late Classical/Early Hellenistic Black Glazed sherds, which were carefully analysed by Berlin (pp. 344–348). Berlin is under no illusion as to the significance of the few sherds described, and clearly regards them as the product of casual visitation of the site long after it was abandoned. Bienkowski allocates the sherds to the uppermost ashy levels (pits?) of the latest Iron Age stratum (Phase 4) in Area A (pp. 90–94), but admits that most of these contexts are either unstratified, uncertain or mixed in with Roman period (Phase 5) 'threshing floors'. To suggest that these handful of sherds with poor context provide compelling evidence to redate the entire Iron IIC strata of Busayra into the Persian-Early Hellenistic periods (pp. 477–478) is simply unacceptable. Bienkowski seeks to draw support for his views from Sauer's last summary remarks on the Iron IIC Hesban corpus.¹² Whilst the honest Sauer admitted the possibility of the Hesban Iron Age corpora ending as late as the Early Hellenistic, he nonetheless came down firmly against it.¹³ Ray recently underscored this judgement in his

¹⁰ Reich 1992, p. 219.

¹¹ Oakeshott 1978.

¹² Sauer 1994, pp. 246–248.

¹³ Sauer 1994, p. 248.

comprehensive publication of the Hesban Iron Age sequence.¹⁴ Perhaps predictably, Bienkowski's dating of Late Iron ceramic assemblages has rapidly become circular, as he now seeks to re-interpret the Hesban assemblages into the Early Hellenistic in the light of the Busayra 'findings'.¹⁵

The 'missing' Late Persian and Early Hellenistic periods continues to frustrate Jordanian archaeological scholarship, but this very real problem must not be swept away by such cavalier means. Oakeshott and Hart,¹⁶ two of the most experienced Edomite ceramicists, have never suggested a range significantly beyond the sixth century BC for Edomite pottery in general, or the Busayra assemblage in particular. No other scholar working in this period in southern Jordan has ever produced convincing post-sixth century BC parallels for Edomite pottery, and Bennett's view that most significant occupation came to an end at Busayra with a Neo-Babylonian sack, perhaps attributable to Nabonidas, is still the most likely reading of the evidence.¹⁷

For all these caveats, the monograph is an important piece of work, in that it presents a great deal of unpublished material (especially the stratigraphy and pottery) for the first time. Bienkowski and his contributors are to be thanked for what was clearly from time to time a very frustrating exercise. However, their efforts will bear lasting fruit, as Busayra will remain the key site for Edomite archaeology for some time to come.

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Stephen Bourke, Pella Excavation Project, Archaeology, A14,
 University of Sydney, NSW 2006, AUSTRALIA.
 E-mail: stephen.bourke@arts.usyd.edu.au

- C. Gates, 2003, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece, and Rome*. London: Routledge. Pp. xx + 444. ISBN 0-415-12182-5

Cities are the clearest manifestation of any civilization, whether in ancient or modern times. Notwithstanding, interest in cities is a rather recent phenomenon in the discipline of archaeology. While the spatio-temporal aspects of the rise of cities, in terms of dynamics and structural change, have been widely discussed in Mesopotamian archaeology from the 1960s, this issue has generally been neglected in most parts of the Ancient World until the last few decades. Some might claim that, to some degree, it is the nature of archaeological evidence that has prevented our understanding of developmental sequences and structural differences within ancient cities. However, the lack of systematic regional surveys and wide horizontal excavations, as compared to vertical excavations in relatively large sites, may indicate that our inadequate information on cities in some regions is due to poorly designed research strategies that do not focus on this particular problem.

Accordingly, there is an imbalance in the archaeological database for cities from various regions, which reflects directly on the quality of the relevant studies. The most beneficial outcome of *Ancient Cities* is its approach of surveying cities across cultures and regions, from both the East and West of the Old World, thereby allowing one to pinpoint areas where there is insufficient data. This attempt at combining appropriate data from the Neolithic to Roman times, and including the span of civilizations from the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Anatolia to Greece and Rome is in itself an important contribution for students of this field; heretofore these regions have generally been assessed separately.

As with many previous studies, the author's use of the term 'town' for both the earliest human settlements such as Çatalhöyük and Çayönü and for true Sumerian cities, as well as for small Early Iron Age sites like Zagora, has led to considerable confusion in our understanding of the emergence of cities as a process in time and space. Despite their extraordinary size and complexity, Çatalhöyük and Çayönü must still be considered as large villages that seem to have no counterpart in the modern world. Therefore, they represent something of a dead-end in the urbanization process. Unlike with the Ubaid settlements in Mesopotamia, which may be classified as towns, the application of this term to Anatolian Neolithic sites has left an unsettling gap, and covering a time-span of more than five thousand years, between the first appearance of 'towns' and emergence of cities in Anatolia. Moreover, if the term 'town' means a secondary centre in its modern usage, how this term can be applied in the absence of the city taking first place in the settlement hierarchy is open to debate. In other words, the application of the same term, for example, for both Neolithic settlements and for early Greek fortified sites such as Zagora creates great difficulty in understanding urbanization as an evolutionary process in terms of space and time.

The terminological, and therefore conceptual complexity, of the use of 'town' may be eliminated by using the term 'regional centre' where one can define a certain degree of economic and socio-political organizational complexity beyond that of the village, that is, where one encounters such features as walls, a presumed residence for the ruler, storage buildings, and the like. It must, of course, be stressed that this terminological problem is a general tendency, and thus cannot be attributed only to *Ancient Cities*. However, Gates' adoption of Childe's list of ten criteria for the definition of a city, and his use of this classification system to define certain sites as either towns or cities, may be criticized since aspects of Childe's list have already been shown to be inadequate by many scholars. Indeed, by taking degree of institutionalisation and integration into consideration — criteria which recent studies have shown to be of crucial importance — Gates would have been able to clearly emphasize the difference between cities and earlier types of settlements with limited services, such as between the Greek polis and the so-called early Greek towns.

In his introduction, the author himself stresses the importance of geographical conditions for the discussion of cities, and notes: "Archaeology as presented in this book is thus a discipline nourished by many specialties: art and architectural history, urbanism, anthropology, geography, history, philology and literary studies..." However, geographical factors have been only briefly outlined in the chapters on Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Indus region, while this aspect has been almost completely ignored in the following chapters, including those on the Aegean, Anatolian, Greek and Roman civilizations. One may also note that throughout the book heavy

emphasis is placed upon public buildings and art in cities. Meanwhile, more anthropology-oriented aspects of cities, such as house and household, social roles of city members based on status and sexuality, property rights, etc., have scarcely been mentioned. As a result, this would seem to prevent the reader from acquiring a more holistic understanding of cities within any given civilization.

No one can deny that the provision of details such as production techniques of pottery, stylistic features of sculptures, or building techniques of temples, as delineated in the Greek part, greatly help our understanding of Greek civilization as a whole. However, these details, combined with the further chronological and regional division of chapters, such as that on Greek sanctuaries, may constrain the reader from following the developmental sequence of the city in its own right. Furthermore, the lack of adequate details on the dimensions of the cities discussed makes it difficult, if not impossible, to gain a general impression about their size, both in terms of how they changed over time, and for comparison between one region and another. Even a simple comparison of size between Uruk (Warka) during the late 4th millennium and Classical Athens would have provided some hints as to the degree of the urban character of Mesopotamian society in very early times.

In such cross-cultural studies, one might have expected to find a concluding general assessment on the cities discussed in terms of structural differences and similarities across time and space; albeit that some comparative remarks are scattered throughout the book. Having given many examples of cities from diverse regions of the Ancient World, one would have liked to see discussed both the structural similarities amongst the various city-states (e.g., between those in Mesopotamia and Greece) and their differences from cities belonging to so-called 'macro-states' or territorial states like Egypt, or possibly the Hittite Empire.

Undoubtedly, any discussion of cities involves very complex aspects of the relevant cultures, which further means that such studies can be approached from many different perspectives. *Ancient Cities*, by providing a good historical and architectural context over an extensive geographic area, and during a very long time period, provides a quick and general introduction to cities of the ancient world, particularly for those who are relatively new to this field.

Özlem Çevik, Edebiyat Fakültesi,
Ege Üniversitesi,

Çeşme Turizm ve Otelcilik Yüksekokulu-İzmir, TURKEY
E-mail: arkeocevik@yahoo.com

Linda Jones Hall, 2004, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity*. London and New York: Routledge. Pp. 375. ISBN 0-415-28919-X, 10 b/w plates.

Linda Jones Hall's detailed study of Beirut in the Roman period continues Routledge's series on the Roman East. By producing a book concentrating on a single, important city, she has given us a welcome addition to the disappointingly small modern genre of city studies in the East. The main title may be slightly misleading, as Jones Hall focuses on the third to sixth centuries, but this too reflects recent scholarly interest in the Late Antique period rather than, as so many earlier historians did, ending with Diocletian or Constantine after the unpleasantness of the usurpers. Late Antique emphasis aside, the earliest history of the city is briefly

considered, with a sharper interest after the foundation of the *Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus* in around 15 BC. Jones Hall notes in both the Preface and the first chapter ('Introduction') that her particular aim is both to offer a social history of the city, and to investigate issues of self-identification by the inhabitants (p. xii-xiii, 1-2). She is also particularly interested in Berytus' role as one of the three main law schools in the Roman world.

The book appears to be a revised version of Jones Hall's doctoral dissertation at The Ohio State University, which was completed in the mid-1990s and updated with material available until 2002. It contains a 'Preface', 'Introduction' and chapters on 'Geographical Setting', 'The Economic Base of the City', 'Berytus as *colonia* and *civitas*', 'The Built Environment of Berytus', 'Provincial Organization in the Roman and Late Antique Eras', 'Paganism and Cultural Identity', 'Christianity as Change in Religious Identity', 'A City of Lawyers, Professors, and Students', 'Artisans, Occupational Identity, and Social Status', a 'Conclusion', four appendices (I: political and military leaders of the province of Syria 64 BC – AD 193; II: political, military and religious leaders in Phoenicia and Berytus AD 193 – 565; III: lawyers, law professors and law students in Phoenicia; IV: coins of Berytus from the American Numismatic Society on-line catalogue), one map, ten plates, an enormous 62 page bibliography and a reasonable index.

Sadly, Jones Hall falls somewhat short of her aims, distracted perhaps by an apparent attempt to also make the book into a textbook for courses on the Roman East. It is this which has inflated the bibliography with many references to works which are extremely general, or of almost no relation to Berytus, Syria or Phoenicia. It is, for instance, no longer necessary in the 21st century, especially in a work which is explicitly a social history of a particular city, to cite Braudel as support for including a description of the setting of that city (p. 4 n. 28). This over-referencing is conspicuous in Chapter 3 'The Geographical Setting', which has three pages of text and just over three pages of notes. The single map in the book, apparently dating to the early 3rd century and that has incorrect or missing provincial borders, is insufficient and of too small scale to support Chapter 3. Fewer references and more maps would have made this a much more useful chapter, particularly as Jones Hall discusses excellent maps in her footnotes.

The balance of the chapters varies enormously. It is unfortunate for Jones Hall that the massive post war archaeological project in the Beirut Souks took place largely after her thesis was written, but which had not produced sufficiently synchronized publications to incorporate into her book. Faced with this dilemma, Jones Hall could easily be forgiven for including an even briefer summary than she has in chapters 3 and 5, and merely indicating to the reader the hope that a companion volume based on archaeological evidence will appear in the near future. That the various teams involved in the Beirut Souk might produce such volumes is another matter, concerned as they are at the moment mainly to offer fairly technical publications. In the meantime, the written evidence is more than sufficient for a book by itself, if dealt with in more detail than Jones Hall has done.

Chapters 6 'Provincial Organization' and 9 'Lawyers, Professors, and Students' and the '*civitas*' part of Chapter 4 seem to be merely prosopographies — long passages of the names of men and the offices they held, all already documented in the standard works, but with little contextualizing discussion.

In a book supposedly dealing with issues of self-identification in an ancient Near Eastern city, under Roman rule, over a period when religious practices changed

from native and Greek paganism to various Christian sects, the reader looks in vain for any sense of historical depth, or, it must be said, any real appreciation of recent scholarship in ethnicity and culture. There is one sentence in the entire book summarizing the documented history of Berytus from the Tell al-Amarna tablets (14th century BC) until the Persian period, while its Hellenistic rulers receive two and a half sentences (p. 45).

Jones Hall does give references in footnotes to Elayi and Sayegh's work on Phoenician Berytus,¹ but does not appear to have absorbed the substantial available material listed in their bibliography, all of it published by the late 1990s. It seems to establish in the 3rd century AD how Phoenician a person might feel, if the thousand or so preceding years of Phoenician history are largely ignored. It is true that Phoenician identity is discussed, particularly in regard to Septimius Severus' allegedly propagandistic Phoenician or Punic revival (pp. 136–139), and four pages are devoted to a discussion of Greek or Roman period literary evidence for Phoenician 'heritage' (pp. 133–136). The principal source is of course Philo (*The Phoenician History*) as preserved and used for his own ends by Eusebius. A glaring omission in the bibliography for this section is E. Lipinski, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Leuven, 1995.

This was also the place I looked in vain for a sophisticated discussion of the types on Berytian coins, in particular the male deity in a car drawn by four hippocamps. This type appears in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC with both Greek and Phoenician letters, and again on civic coinage issued under Caracalla — but not Septimius Severus or Elagabalus — with Latin inscription COL BER. In no case is the deity named, but the earliest coins are traditionally identified as 'Baal-Berit(h)', changing to 'Baal-Berit (Poseidon)' or vice versa for the 1st century BC coins, and 'Poseidon' for the Roman provincials.² This is despite Hill remarking in her introduction "Whether the Baal-Berith who was worshipped at Shechem (Judges viii.33, ix.4, 46), and whose name is generally explained as 'God [or Lord] of the Covenant' [not Lord of Beruta/Berytus as Jones Hall p. 129], was the Baal of Berytus, may be doubted."³ This did not stop Hill, or all subsequent describers of these coins from calling the deity Baal-Berith, but only on coins of the pre-Roman period. However, as Jones Hall concedes in a footnote, the "sole epigraphic connection of Poseidon to Berytus comes from Delos" (note 4, p. 151). Jones Hall discusses the not-quite-syncretization of Phoenician, Greek and Roman deities (pp. 129–130), but this iconographical issue, probably one of modern scholarship rather than ancient identity, surely deserves some discussion.

We miss also any consideration of the remarkable fact that Berytus reverted to its Semitic name apparently immediately upon being taken by the Romans. While it cannot be blamed for shrugging off the potentially confusing Laodike of the Hellenistic period, A. H. M. Jones, long ago, made the point that the revival of Semitic names after the Islamic conquest was a good indicator of the size of the indigenous population and the antiquity and importance of the settlement before it received a Greek or Roman name. Perhaps in her haste to dismiss Jones as a mere 'Orientalist', if not straight out chauvinist (p. 3), Jones Hall neglected to read the more pertinent

¹ Elayi and Sayegh 1998, 2000.

² Hill 1910, *Berytus* nos. 1, 8, 17–22, 26, 156).

³ Hill 1910, p. xlvii.

points of his many studies of the Roman East (and if she seeks to write off a giant of scholarship, she might be careful to more accurately quote him — compare Jones Hall p. 3 note 14 with A. H. M. Jones 1931, 265) I agree that Jones' "backward people of Syria" is today an unhappy phrase, but Jones Hall's almost total disregard for the pre-Augustan history of her site suggests just as much a bias towards the superiority of Roman (written) culture as that for which she criticizes Jones.

An issue Jones Hall has written on at length, not only in this book, is the link between language and self-identification. In her introduction here, she presents, as an analogy for the replacement of Latin by Syriac, the post-colonial experience of Algeria, as French became replaced by Arabic. Perhaps a better model might have been the replacement of Latin in the Catholic Mass by the vernacular, as Berytus in the 5th century, when Latin waned and Greek and Semitic languages re-emerged (pp. 200–201), could hardly be described as post-colonial. And the pertinent issue is, did these other languages re-emerge, or is it a language change in documents alone? Some indication of relative quantities and use patterns is needed here. Of all epigraphy from Berytus, how much is Latin, how much Greek, how much Semitic? Of the Latin inscriptions, how many are official and expected in Latin, how many are personal and unexpected? How much later than other cities does Latin last in Berytus? None of these points are documented. In terms of ancient language use, rather than merely referencing Stephen Mitchell's predictably excellent treatment of the issue in Asia Minor,⁴ Jones Hall might have benefited from following it as a model for modern scholarship.

Jones Hall's treatment of two texts can be singled out as examples of the missed opportunities in this book. The bilingual bust inscription of Marcus Julius Maximus Aristeides from Palmyra shows, as Jones Hall notes, a mixing of Latin, Greek and Semitic elements. Her point (p. 52) is that Aristeides describes himself as 'Colonist Berytian' (rendered *kolon berytios*/QWLWN BRTY' in note 64 p. 57). The obvious question — why would someone in the 3rd century AD describe themselves as a colonist berytian in Greek and Palmyran — is related, Jones Hall argues from passages in Jerome and Nonnus, to the continuing high value placed on Berytus' colonial status well into Late Antiquity. To appreciate this fully, some kind of explicit and probably quantitative comparison of similar inscriptions from other eastern colonies and cities is needed here, to show how Berytians were similar or different.

Alexandra, daughter of Zoe, in an invocation which may be magic or binding spell or curse or prayer, calls upon the god of Abraam, Isaach and Iakob, the seven Jewish archangels, a variety of Semitic-sounding gods and spirits and ends with 'God and his Christ' (pp. 183–184). The phylactery has never been published with substantial discussion of the social contexts it reveals⁵ but here there is no discussion beyond speculation that Alexandra was illegitimate as only her mother was named or that she was Unitarian, because of the God and his Christ formula. Since Jones Hall refers to a similar Oxyrynchus papyrus, perhaps she might have taken up the publishers of that invocation who labelled it 'Christianizing Jewish'⁶ to examine the relationship between Jews and Christians in the 5th century. Clearly Jones Hall

⁴ Mitchell 2000.

⁵ Jordan 1991, p. 61.

⁶ Betz 1986, pp. 268–9.

considered Alexandra a Christian, as the phylactery is given as “Additional evidence for popular attitudes towards the position of Christ relative to the Father and to the angels ...” (p. 183).

Jones Hall’s discussion of Jews at Berytus is banal in the extreme, limited to some tomb inscriptions or lists of mentions of synagogues in literary texts — at least one of which might seem unreliable as it lists those places or buildings destroyed, presumably due to impiety, and thus a synagogue on the list might be propagandistic (Ambrose *Ep.* 40, p. 185). The section also includes the rather startling rhetorical question, after detailing John Chrysostom’s rants against Jews in Antioch (p. 186), “One wonders at the source of so much hostility towards the Jews;...”. One suggests that the fairly widespread belief that the Jews had caused the death of the Son of God, a doctrine not overturned until last century, might lie behind Chrysostom’s attitude.

A number of editorial problems also mar the book. There are numerous typographic mistakes, amongst which are “additionally” (p. 64), “territorium” (p. 109), “*eis theos*” on p. 184 but “*heis theos*” in note 143 to that sentence, “additionally” (p. 186) “presumbaly” (p. 211), “Lu)soni/wn” (p. 211), “indivual” (p. 221), “green” (p. 235), “associated” (p. 235), “concering” (p. 244 n. 1), “hipposcamps” (p. 287, last entry). The plates are hardly integrated with the text and this reviewer could not find references to them all. The illustration of Metaxia the *kalligraphissa*’s inscription is mentioned in the third footnote for the discussion. The photograph of a marble chancel screen terminating in an ibex (pl. 6) is mentioned at the end of a long footnote which includes references to Jidejian’s *Beirut through the Ages*, 1973 and an article by Fine on chancel screens in Palestinian synagogues. Since one must have Jidejian to hand when reading the book under review anyway, it seems superfluous to have effectively reproduced Jidejian pls. 208 and 209. None of the illustrations is used to make a point, nor do any appear to be of previously unpublished objects. They simply add to the cost of the book and should have been left out.

The same applies to appendix IV. The only reference to this twelve page coin listing seems to be in a footnote in the Introduction (note 70) which gives the main numismatic studies of Berytian coins and then, in passing, “see the appendix of coins which was developed from an online listing of holdings at the American Numismatic Society and is used with permission.” No illustrations of these coins are provided and the point of the ANS online database is to save us from wasting paper on lists, which may quickly become out of date. What should have been appendix IV, and which would have been a real service to readers, would have been a brief, annotated list of all the epigraphic sources which Jones Hall had consulted, and which mentioned or were found in Berytus. As she herself noted, the inscriptions number less than one hundred and are not collected together (p. 7). Even if Rey-Coquais produces an IGLSyr volume for Berytus, this would leave out the *koinon Berytion Poseidoniston* on Delos (pp. 129, 138), and the athlete from Caria who had twice won the *pankration* at Berytus (p. 64). A full critical edition is not needed, just a simple reference list, to supplement the very long list of primary literary sources in the bibliography.

The order of some of the chapters seems to have been rearranged, without careful enough checking of internal cross-referencing. Thus we have a mention of the tomb inscription of Samuel the *sericarius/serikarios* (p. 185 — not in index) as if we know all about it, when it is not properly discussed until p. 224 – 229. The story of

St. Matrona is used in two places, but her biography, for those unfamiliar with her *Vitae*, comes on the second occasion. Similarly, the young pagan priestess who runs away to be with Matrona is used as an example of pagan practice at some length on pages 147–150, where she appears to be anonymous. However, on page 169, we find her name was Euche ‘Prayer’. At least two footnotes seem to have been swapped: notes 48 and 49 on page 226. In a note where Jones Hall brings to our attention that Wilkinson has changed his translation of *genicia publica olosirica* from ‘public brothels draped in silk’ to her less poetic but probably more correct ‘public silk weaving factories’, Wilkinson 2000 and 1977 are not in the bibliography.

All the comments above notwithstanding, this book does have the virtue of presenting a great deal of material, from widely disparate sources, about Beirut, in a single place, although it does not supersede either Liebeschuetz’s entry on ‘Berytus’ in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* or MacAdam’s cross-cultural study.⁷ The book will be necessary in a library focussing on the Roman East, but remains disappointing for the opportunity lost of discussing, in a sophisticated way, how Hellenism, the Roman world and indigenous populations interacted and created identities in Late Antiquity.

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Kate da Costa, Pella Excavation Project, Archaeology, A14,
University of Sydney, NSW 2006, AUSTRALIA.
E-mail: kate.da.costa@arts.usyd.edu.au

⁷ MacAdam 2001–2.

Adam T. Smith and by Karen S. Rubinson (eds), 2003, *Archaeology in the Borderlands: Investigations in Caucasia and Beyond* (Monograph 47). Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles. Pp. v + 270. ISBN 1-931745-01-3.

This is an interesting and important book that probably took more time than expected to publish. Interesting because many of the 12 contributions throw new and refreshing information on the archaeology of the Caucasus from the fifth to the first millennium BC. Important because it could be the first step taken by a new community of archaeologists to share new data and ideas on Caucasus with a view to reaching a wider readership.

The first two chapters of the book, which is organised chronologically, deal with the results of the Archaeological American Expedition in Daghestan. P. Kohl discusses issues like world-system vs distance-parity models and the procurement of metallic raw materials with a special focus on the circulation of tin and bronze artefacts in the context of the Velikent catacomb tombs (2800–2300 BC). The presence of tin-bronze objects provide an exceptionally early date for this alloy, and its use in the local symbolic systems of value sheds light on a Caucasian community engaged in a multiple system of relationships. On the one hand, we have the exploitation of local raw materials and the relationships with the neighbouring Kura-Araxes and Ciscaucasian communities. On the other hand, there is the involvement of the Velikent community, since the third millennium, into a wider a tin-bronze world-system that originated in central Asia and linked Daghestan to the rest of the Near Eastern world. D. Peterson's insightful essay (Chapter 2) uses the metal artefacts from Velikent Catacomb 1 as a basis to discuss the interconnections between metallurgy, social practices and the system of values. Spectral analyses show a selective use of different metals and metal alloys for the production of three main classes of objects. Using an anthropological approach, Peterson argues that metallurgy played a sophisticated role within the context of social strategies, pertaining to the display of status and wealth.

Accompanied by a large number of drawings, Chapter 3 is dedicated to one of the most intriguing phenomena of the Transcaucasian archaeology, namely the origins of the Kura-Araxes culture. The main aim of this paper, written by T. Kiguradze and A. Sagona, is to explore the beginnings of this complex by means of an overview of the earlier Transcaucasian Chalcolithic cultures, comparing them, whenever possible, with data from the east Anatolian site of Sos Höyük. Though two main chronological phases of cultural and socio-organisational development in the Chalcolithic are recognised by the authors, the dynamics of this phenomenon, incorporating the 'Sioni complex' and 'Proto-Kura-Araxes horizon', awaits clarification. While the continuum between the Chalcolithic and Kura-Araxes communities in relation to the subsistence and settlement patterns strategies now seems very tight, the gap between their material cultures is still difficult to grasp. Perhaps the most intriguing reflection proposed by Kiguradze and Sagona is that a system of interactions between the south-eastern Anatolian Late Uruk communities and the Caucasian Chalcolithic led to the latter's move towards complexity and the appearance of Red-Black burnished ware in the Kura-Araxes culture.

The diffusion of the Kura-Araxes culture in the early third millennium eastern Anatolia is M. Rothman's main topic (Chapter 4), which he interprets as the outcome

of diachronic shifts of pastoralists from Transcaucasia. The data obtained from the Muş survey point to an increase of settlements located on the hilly areas of the region. According to Rothman, they were established by new Kura-Araxes settlers who were wandering around the region in search for pastures. Rothmann does not take into account the fact that a growth in the number of settlements does not necessarily imply the arrival of a new population. It could also be the result of the adoption, by the local population, of a less sedentary way of life. The principle that people equal pots needs to be overcome.

Marina Puturidze's paper (Chapter 5) deepens the question on the origins and development of the Middle Bronze Age Trialeti culture. Unfortunately, the historical processes which gave rise to the emergence of this stratified society are ignored (apart from the Near Eastern and Aegean influences) and we are left with a descriptive essay that analyses the hierarchical organisation of these communities on the basis of the evidence of the quantitative and qualitative concentration of goods from the kurgans.

K. Rubinson's contribution (Chapter 6) is precisely focused on one specific class of luxury goods, namely the silver containers. By means of a detailed description and an accurate stylistic analysis, the author takes us around the circular symbolic narrative of the Karashamb goblet. A fascinating trip ending in a formal comparison with two other masterpieces from the Trialeti kurgans. Perhaps more words and images were worth spending in order to further explain more convincingly the analogies between the glyptic from the Karum of Kanesh and the Middle Bronze Age Caucasian metalwork. According to the author, these influences should be linked to long-distance trade and exchange of metallic minerals and tin between the Assyrian-Anatolian centres and the Caucasian elites.

After a compelling introduction on the Caucasian archaeology, R. Badalyan, A. Smith and P. Avetisyan, provide a comprehensive background of post-Kura-Araxes social developments in the second millennium BC as a prelude in their search for pre-Urartian social complexity. Middle Bronze Age political complexity becomes, in the Late Bronze Age, a more stable and formalised system of social inequalities founded on a settlement pattern that is focused on the cyclopean fortresses. They became the centres of power from which control was exerted over local population and through which trade and exchange were conducted. This case study use data collected from the survey and excavations undertaken in the Tsakhaovit plain. The combination of information — a mix of settlement pattern, surface findings and burial distribution — gives a fascinating picture of the complexity of power relationships occurring within and outside the plain during the Late Bronze age.

Chapter 8 (R. Biscione) compares Iron Age settlement patterns from pre-Urartian and Urartian times in two adjacent — the Urmia plain and the southern shore of Lake Sevan. Rank size and Thiessen's polygon analyses are carried out in order to define the Iron Age settlement pattern. Taking into account the ambiguity of the archaeological record and the aggressive Urartian policy of conquest, a picture of a chiefdom-like territorial organisation is outlined. After the advent of the Urartian Empire, different political strategies had a divergent impact on the history and settlement pattern of the two regions.

V. Sevin investigates Early Iron Age cemeteries from Karagündüz and Ernis (Chapter 9) in order to throw light on the socio-organisational premises that gave

way to the Urartian kingdom some centuries later. The data show the presence of non-settled groups of people sharing a homogeneous material culture characterised by new funerary traditions, the use of iron for ornaments and weapons, and new pottery traditions that mark a set of clear breaks from the Late Bronze Age culture and foreshadow some aspects of the Urartian material culture.

The latest results from the amazing Urartian fortress of Ayanis are presented by A. Çilingiroğlu, E. Stone and P. Zimansky. While Çilingiroğlu (Chapter 10) is concerned with the description and the historical contextualisation of the official, bureaucratic and elite sector of the settlement, Stone and Zimansky's contribution (Chapter 11) shed light on the more peripheral areas of the fortress. Although the main aim of the project sounds ambitious — to detect different artefactual assemblages that should mirror the ethnic composition of captives and slaves forcefully resettled — the results are interesting all the same. After surface collection, shovel testing and systematic geomagnetic survey, a set of excavation trenches were opened, bringing to light a system of buildings related to the royal urban planning, which underwent changes, developments and re-occupations. When interpreting the data, one should take account that the functionality of buildings can affect both the qualitative and quantitative variability of the findings.

There are many assumptions in G. Tsatskheladze's contribution (Chapter 12). Migrationism, the movement of more or less specialised groups of people, is here presented as the only solution for the presence of exotic artefacts and foreign influences in the first millennium Georgia.

It is a pity that this book lacks a conclusive chapter. We are left with a set of isolated chapters, like pieces (sometimes precious) of a mosaic that, standing alone do not cohere into a full image. The book also provided a good opportunity to present new or at least better documented finds, but instead drawings and photos are often recycled from older publications. Although the authors (more than a half from Western research institutions) with their different approaches to archaeology are united by a common and maybe unconscious *leitmotiv* — to show connections between Caucasus and the outside world — dialogue is nonetheless missing. Few authors take into account the other contributions in the volume. The conspicuous absence of contributions by Iranian and Azerbaijanian archaeologists, promotes a strong feeling that Caucasia might still be a borderland, though I doubt that any of the 'local' contributors would have chosen such a title. Nonetheless, for the moment, the region remains a very complicated political and cultural Land-of-Borders.

Giulio Palumbi

Missione Archeologica Italiana in Anatolia Orientale
Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza'

Rome, ITALY

E-mail: giulioalumbi@hotmail.com